1: Burrows--1 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 131, 101, 171 Ifalik

"Ifalik is an atoll in the Caroline Islands at 7° 15' north latitude and 147° east longitude. It lies nearly midway between Yap, 400 miles to the west-northwest, and Truk, nearly due east. Guam, in the Marianas, administrative center for the whole Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, is about 350 miles north of Ifalik. (Fig. 1).

The ocean for 100 miles around is dotted with other atolls and reefs, making up what has sometimes been called the Woleai district, though administered as part of Yap district. Woleai, 30 miles west of Ifalik, is considered the most important atoll of the group because it has the largest lagoon and largest population. Eight of these atolls are now inhabited: Woleai, Ifalik, Faraulep, Lamotrek, Elato, Satawal, Eaurupik, and Sorol. Olimarao was formerly inhabited, and some of the others may have been.

The people of all these islands seem to be so nearly alike in language and culture as to constitute a cultural unit which differs perceptibly, though slightly, even from Fais and Ulithi to the northwest. Differences between them and their closest neighbors are too slight to justify use of the term 'culture area' for the Woleai district. 'Sub-area' would be more precise. A hasty test of these similarities was possible during brief stops at several of the islands on the return trip from Ifalik. Dialect, clan names, and the more obvious features of material culture seemed to be the same until we came to Satawal, the easternmost island visited. Here differences began to appear. For instance, the 'tr' of Ifalik was replaced, at least in some words, by 'ch'; and several clan names were different. Sorol, westernmost of the atolls generally included in the sub-area, was not visited. It seems safe to say that this account of the native culture of Ifalik will hold true, in a general way, for the other atolls. But the similarity does not extend to all details. Sea-burial, for example, seems to be exclusively an Ifalik custom. The people of Faraulep are said to use for food a small land-shell not eaten on Ifalik. And so on.

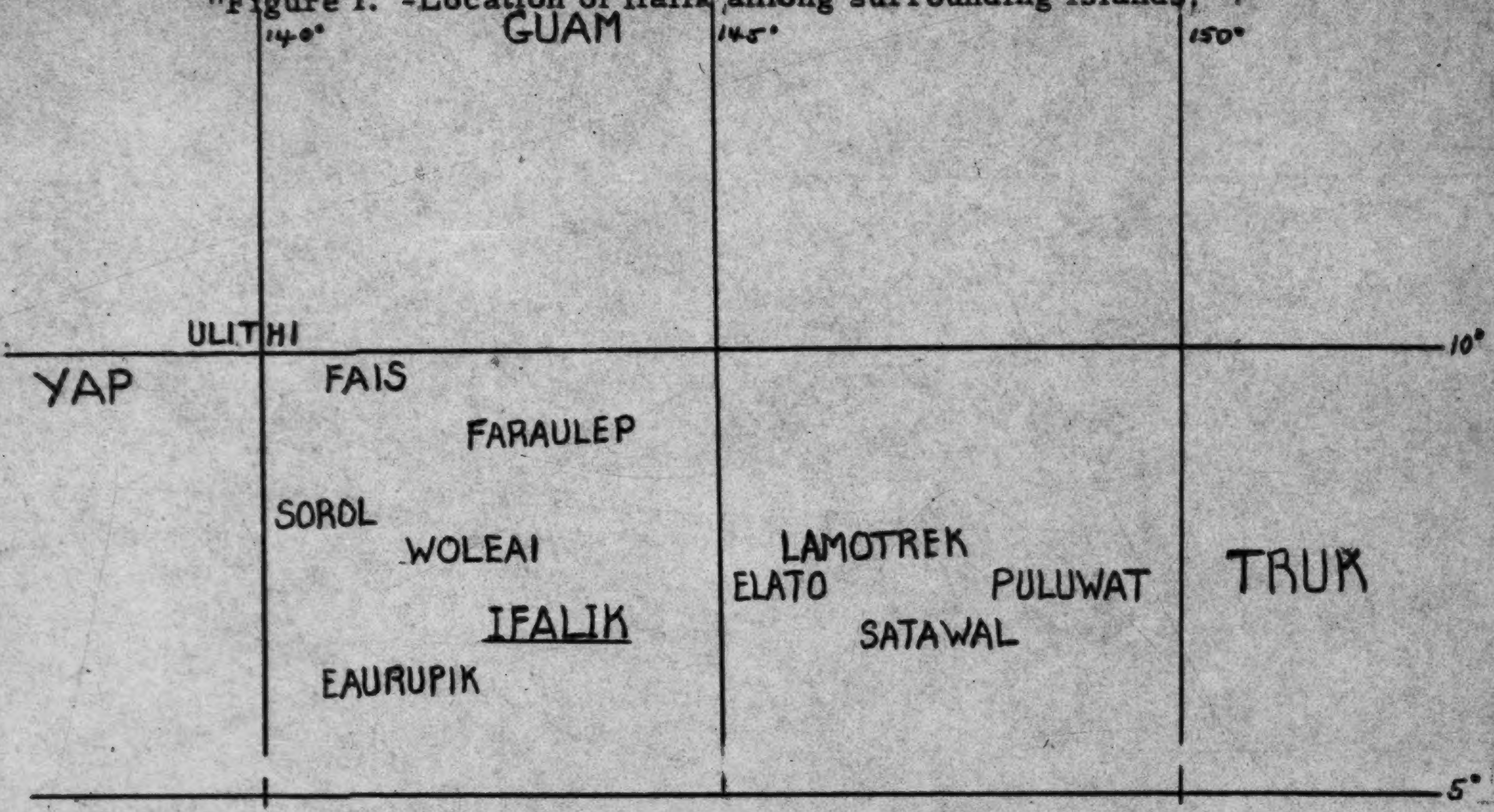
For all practical purposes, the main differences probably reflect difference in contact with foreigners. Ifalik was chosen for study because it has had a minimum of outside influence. Woleai represents the maximum. A missionary worked there in the 19th Century. The Japanese built an air-strip there during World War II. The Americans bombed the air-strip, and for a time at the close of the war, a few Americans were stationed there to maintain a LORAN station. A useful supplement to the Ifalik material would be a study of change on Woleai due to this contact."

1: Burrows--1-A
116, 102

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Figure 1. -Location of Ifalik among surrounding islands,".


140°
GUAM
145°
150°
ULITHI
10°
YAP
FAIS
FARAULEP
SOROL
WOLEAI
IFALIK
EAURUPIK
LAMOTREK
ELATO
PULUWAT
SATAWAL
TRUK
5°

1: Burrows--1-2
116, 121

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The report that follows is based mainly on six months of residence on Ifalik, from July, 1947, to February, 1948. This field work was part of the project called CIMA (Co-ordinated Investigation of Micronesian Anthropology), sponsored by the National Research Council at the request of the U. S. Navy. There were two of us on Ifalik. Melford L. Spiro, then a graduate student in anthropology from Northwestern University, investigated the development of native personality. Aspects of the culture particularly vital to that project--child care, the individual life cycle, sexual life, and the detailed functioning of kinship--were left to him.

This report has two purposes: to record a good deal of the culture for comparative study, and to supply information useful to administrators. It is too much to hope that either purpose will be fulfilled to the satisfaction of all concerned. [2] Ethnologists who confine themselves to standard data are comparatively easy to please. But those who attempt new lines of inquiry--as they should, for the whole subject is in a pioneering stage--are bound to be disappointed in their sources. In the same way, some matters are obviously important to administrators; but nobody can tell what else may become so. There is only one remedy. Administrators must have the assistance of anthropologists, trained to make whatever fresh studies a changing situation demands.

For both purposes this account will be supplemented by Melford Spiro's analysis of personality development. A third report, now in preparation, will be a study of the arts

1: Burrows--1-2
116, 121

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

most developed in Ifalik, -- songs, dances, and ritual--showing how they express the themes and sentiments that dominate native life."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 121 Ifalik

"Expert help has been received from many sources. Commander Betts of the Fleet Weather Center at Guam helped to explain the climate. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr., Honolulu officer of the Pacific Science Board, supplied English and scientific names of a number of animal species. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg explained the conditions that govern plant life. He and Mr. Bryan collaborated with Miss Marie Neal of Bishop Museum in identifying plant specimens. Dr. Maud Makemson of Vassar College, whose studies in Polynesian and Maya astronomy have pioneered a new field of research that might be called ethnoastronomy, identified, as far as possible from the rough data supplied her, the stars by which native navigators find their way to other islands. Melford L. Spiro supplemented and corrected the data at many points. Some of his help is acknowledged in the text, but as we exchanged data constantly, not all of it could be."

1: Burrows--2
116, 115

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Most helpful of all was Totogoeiti, who will be called hereafter by his English name, Tom. This he acquired in the days of his youth, when he worked on foreign ships from Honolulu to Singapore. During that period he spent six years in Manila, where he acquired a command of English which, once some of its peculiarities were mastered, was surprisingly adequate. He was at our beck and call the whole time. If he sometimes became impatient at our stupidity or persistence, he controlled himself admirably. He dictated all the incantations and other native lore of navigation which he, as ranking 'captain' (palū), knew better than anyone else. Much of this was private property, which he would only teach to another native in return for valuable presents. Toward the end, when our supplies were running short, he twice climbed coconut trees at night --a task usually left to younger men--and snared terns for our breakfast. So far as we knew, these were the only terns snared during our stay, as the birds were not abundant enough at the time to justify this arduous and risky job. To a considerable extent the following pages reflect the culture as seen through Tom's eyes."

1: Burrows--2 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 123 Ifalik

"Special acknowledgment is due the hospitality and collaboration of the native people. They not only submitted patiently to our most impertinent inquiries, but gladly offered whatever help we asked for, or whatever occurred to them. The chiefs were particularly helpful, assembling to give us information whenever we asked for it and assigning to us as helpers young Talimeira, who picked up English so fast that before we left he could be used as an interpreter in some matters, and Totogoeiti ('Tom'), our interpreter. An unforgettable example of chiefly conduct was the last sentence addressed to me by Paliuilimar, the aged chief who died during our stay on the island. I called on him when he was far gone, and could only speak faintly. When he saw me he raised his head and asked 'Have you plenty of young coconuts to drink?' "

1: Burrows--3 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 162 Ifalik

"The population of Ifalik in 1947-8 was about 250. While we were there it was actually a few less than that most of the time, because of almost continual visiting on Woleai, and the absence of two young men in Yap, one training with the medical officer there, the other studying to be a school-teacher. The ship that took us away brought these two back to the island.

Of the 250, 108 were male, 142 female. The excess of 34 women and girls amounts to 13.6%. Reasons for it are not clear. More travelling among the men, and some marrying and settling on other islands may have something to do with it. But there were also some husbands from other islands on Ifalik. Loss of a canoe at sea would nearly always cost the island more men than women, but canoes are not lost often enough to account for all the disparity between sexes."

1: Burrows--3-4
116, 161

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-5

"The following early figures on the population are presented by Damm:

1797	(Wilson) about	200
1828	(Lütke) about	150
1852	(Cheyne) about	140
1903/4	(Sievers)	281
1909	(Hamburg Expedition)	208
1914	(Finsch) about	300
1930	Pacific Is. Pilot	305

The first three are estimates, useless for indicating change in the course of time. The last four seem more trustworthy. That of the Hamburg Expedition is much smaller than the rest. This may be a result of the typhoon of 1907. Not many lives were lost in that disaster, but, judging by native accounts of all such occasions, the destruction of food-bearing plants probably led to emigration on a considerable scale. By 1914 most of the refugees may have returned.

One more figure, for 1937, is available from a Japanese source (Civ. p. 33). The total given is 388. It is of dubious value, to say the least. It is the sum of figures for three islands: Flalap (76), Ifalik (269), and Pik (54). Now Flalap (Falālap) is indeed the name of one of the inhabited islands. Ifalik might be used for the other island, Falārik, though the natives use it only for the whole atoll; and the figure given is large for Falārik. But there is no such island as Pik. The third island on Ifalik is Ellā, and it has been uninhabited as far back as native tradition goes, except that during the American trusteeship, the atoll's one leper has been quarantined there. Moreover, the totals attributed to the three islands add up to 399, instead of the 388 given as the total. There is an islet called Pik on the nearby atoll of Faraulep. Subtracting the 54 attributed to Pik would give a total of 345 for the two inhabited islands of Ifalik. But the figures are in such a muddle that they can lead to nothing but guesswork.

Comparing the last four figures in Damm's list with the 250 of 1947-8 suggests a decrease in population during the 20th century. That suggestion, for what it is worth, supports the frequent assertion of natives that the population was much larger formerly than it is now. There are several other indications of depopulation: the number of old house sites now unoccupied; the constitution of some of the present households; the ratio of children to married couples in the present population. For lack of better evidence, these must be considered in some detail.

As for the abandoned house-sites, there is, of course, no assurance that all of them were ever occupied at one time. But on the island at Falārik there are two [4] clusters of them long enough to show on the map (Fig. 2). One is between Rauau and Falārik districts. This now uninhabited stretch of road is lined with old house sites. The other is at the north end of the island; beyond what is now the last house. Two canoe-houses are still maintained there, though there are now no dwellings near; and the site of an old men's house (bachelors' dormitory and meeting-house) is pointed out near the northernmost canoe-house, far from any present dwelling. It seems unlikely that such considerable areas would have been left vacant just by casual moving about.

The constitution of some households which differ from the usual pattern also suggests a dwindling population. The household called Uaragin includes two married couples. Both are examples of patrilocal residence; that is, the wife has come to live at the husband's home. This is contrary to local custom. Of the members of this household, only one belongs to the lineage which traditionally owns the site. This is the husband in the elder generation. If he had gone to live at his wife's home, as is customary, the site would have been abandoned. His son, the husband in the younger generation, has also deviated from custom by bringing his wife home instead of going to live with her people. The household called Foraik is another example. The whole lineage that formerly lived there had died out. The present occupants moved in from Welipeien, the site next door. Finally, the only household on the island which has been newly established in the present generation is at Uluās. It consists of a single family, a married couple and their daughter. They went there to reoccupy an abandoned site which belongs to the husband's clan. All these deviations from custom, then, are attributed to a wish to keep occupied, or to reoccupy, sites which by the customary pattern of residence would have been abandoned.

A third sign of depopulation is the fact that, although there are 60 married couples in the present population, there are only 81 children less than 20 years old. The latter figure, an estimate worked out by Spiro from relative ages, includes orphans and children of widows as well as children of the married couples. If the fertile part of the population was reproducing itself, the number of children would be at least 120.

Although none of these indications, taken by itself, is convincing, they add up to a probability that Ifalik has been sharing in the general depopulation of the Yap district. Reasons for this are by no means certain. Undoubtedly foreign contact, even in this remotest island of Micronesia, has had something to do with it, by means of introduced diseases if nothing else. Poor sanitation undoubtedly aggravates the damage done by disease. Inadequate diet, especially a shortage of Vitamin E, may play a part of reducing fertility. Disapproval of sexual intercourse between parents until the last baby can walk may cut down the birth rate. Yet if extra-marital intercourse is as prevalent as gossip makes it out to be, it should make up for that. Infant mortality is presumably high, though statistics are lacking to prove it.

Probably study of one island can contribute only a little toward a solution of this problem. Depopulation has been widespread in the Pacific. One encouraging feature is that in many islands where foreign influence has been greater than in Ifalik, the population, after declining for a time, began to hold its own and then to increase. (Ref. Keesing). Another is the likelihood that American medical care will reduce the death rate."

1: Burrows--5 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 153 Ifalik

" GEOGRAPHY

This section deals with what the people of Ifalik know about the resources of their island. It seemed possible to find out what they know by watching them and asking questions, without calling on the array of specialists that would have been necessary to describe the island in terms of what we know. Yet the expert help just acknowledged proved necessary in order to translate their knowledge into terms intelligible to our science. Besides, it proved possible now and then, with this help, to test the accuracy of their knowledge and find some of its limitations.

To begin with some concepts that form a framework for their knowledge, no general names were found for 'number', 'space', or 'time'. This suggests a boundary to the degree of abstraction which their tools for thinking allow them. Within these limits, they are at home with all three concepts."

1: Burrows--5-6 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 802, 193 Ifalik 1-5

"The native system of enumeration is organized decimally. For numbers from one to ten, four sets of terms are used, according to what is being counted. Three of them have also their own interrogative forms. All are variants of one fundamental set of forms. Two add suffixes to the fundamental forms. The other reduces them to monosyllables, mainly by omitting second syllables. The monosyllables are used in counting aloud, as in distributing fish or measuring the length of a rope in fathoms.

	General	Human Beings and Fish ('Animate')	Trees and Canoes ('Long Objects')	Monosyllables for Counting Aloud
How many?	vitou?	veteman (u?	vetevar?	---------
1.	seu	seuman	sevar	ot
2.	ruou	rumen	ruovar	ru
3.	selū	selimen	seluvar	en (sometimes 'sel')

1: Burrows--5-6
116, 802, 193

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

4.		vaou	vamen	vavar	vang
5.	(limou)	nimou	limen	lifar	lim
6.		wolou	wolemen	olovar	ol
7.		vesou	visimen	visivar	vis
8.		walou	walimen	walivar	wal
9.		tiwou	tiwemen	tiuvar	tiw
10.		seg	seik	seik	seg

From ten on, there is only one set of numerals. Eleven is 'seg ma seu'-- ten and one; twelve 'seg ma ruou', and so on. For multiples of ten the suffix 'eik' is added to the first syllable of the numerals from two to nine: [6]

20. rueik

1: Burrows--5-6
116, 802, 193

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

30.	seleik
40.	faeik
50.	nimeik
60.	oleik
70.	vesik
80.	walik
90.	tuweik

The corresponding suffix for hundreds is 'bwugu'. The count by hundreds to a thousand is:

100.	sebwugu

200.	rubwugu (once, in a song, recorded as 'lugubwugu')
300.	selubwugu
400.	väbwugu
500.	limoubwugu
600	olobwugu (wolobwugu)
700	visibwugu
800	walibwugu
900	tiwbwugu
1,000	senne

1: Burrows--5-6 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 802, 193 Ifalik

From this point the numerals given by Tom disagree with those in a list collected by Sarfert. Sarfert has sangalas for 1,000. For 10,000 Tom gave senne me sangares; Sarfert, sang. Tom said there is no word for 'million'; but Sarfert's list continues to 100,000,000. There seems to be no reason to doubt its correctness. The higher numerals, being little used, may be forgotten. At least Tom did not know them. Lacking a copy of Sarfert's list to suggest it, no search was made for others who may know more than he."

1: Burrows--6-7 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 822, 193 Ifalik 12

"General recognition of distance is implied in terms like igei, 'here' and igelan, 'there'. Igan, also translated 'here', seems to indicate an intermediate [7] distance. Ei, following a noun, means approximately 'this'; i lal, 'that'. The same distinction appears in the pronouns melēn, 'this', and mennā, 'that'. There are two words for the direction upward: iăt, implying a moderate distance, and wĕnang, a great one, as of clouds or stars. Relative measurement of space is accomplished rather precisely, in such work as canoe-building, by use of improvised measuring sticks, marked or broken off at the length desired, which then can be matched in another place. Measuring cords are used for the same purpose. A given length is halved or quartered by doubling or redoubling the cord.

More abstract units of measurement seem to be confined to the span and the fathom. The terms for both these units are used with numerical prefixes. One span is seang; two, ruang; three, selang, four, vang. One fathom is sengaf, and so on.

Greater distances are not measured with any exactness. Distances overland on Ifalik are so short, and so universally known, that there is little need to discuss them. For distances overseas there seems to be no native unit of measurement. In giving sailing directions in English, Tom named relatively short distances in miles. For example, 'because of currents, take first (the star) Tagalemailepalevang for 4 miles; then Tubwumailepalevang, for 1 mile; then Wolewol. After following Wolewol for 1 1/2 miles, you should be able to see Faraulep.' No corresponding native unit of distance was found. Apparently navigators have to judge such distances by experience. Total distances to other islands are commonly measured in terms of time, such as 'an overnight voyage.' "

1: Burrows--7-9 (1947-48) Woleaians K
116, 805 Ifalik

"The people of Ifalik do not count the passing years. Nobody knows how old he is, except relatively, --that is, he knows only that he is younger than this one and older than that other. They know perfectly that many things in nature--stars, prevailing winds, the flowering and fruiting of some kinds of plants, and the coming and going of some kinds of fish and birds--recur in cycles. They even have 12 month names, which could be used to count years, with only the adjustment required by the fact that each of their months has 30 days. But they have no name for the 12-month period as a whole. The longest period they do have, the rag, will be discussed later.

Even the month names are little used. Many, it is said, do not know them. There is a good deal of reckoning by moons, but usually in terms of 'next moon' (ulubwaling), 'the moon after next' (uletegulun), or 'three months from now' (sepeiaugal uletegulun).

The month names are names of stars, which again shows some awareness of a stellar (solar) cycle. Each may be used with or without the preface Fale. Fal or fan is a general term for 'house'. Each month is thought of as being 'in the house' of its particular star.

The five chiefs had no difficulty in remembering the month names and were confident that they had them in the right order. But Wolpetau, first chief, said that it was then the moon Aramaus. It was December by the European calendar; about a month after the trade wind became established. But in their list Aramaus was not second in the trade-wind *rag*, but midway in the other rag, or about midsummer. (Such a discrepancy could come about, of course, because their 30-day moons do not [8] fit the solar cycle.) Moreover, the order of the names in their list does not correspond to that in a list Sarfert collected in 1909. The list as the chiefs gave it follows. The corresponding names from Sarfert's list are placed opposite, with their order in his list indicated by numbers in parentheses:

Month Names

	(Five Chiefs, 1947)	(Sarfert, 1909)
1.	(Fale) mairig	maidjik (7)
2.	(Fale) mailap	mailap (8)
3.	(Falú) eliel	eluol (1)
4.	(Fal) ūl	ūl (12)
5.	(Fan) nag	lāki (10)

6.	(Fale) mal	malu (2)
7.	(Fale) gu(a	gū (11)
8.	(Fale) tumur	tumul (6)
9.	(Fal) aramaus	elemadj (5)
10.	(Fale) sarabwolu	djalewol (4)
11.	(Fal) itr	idj (3)
12.	(Fale) sotā	soda (9)

Concerning one of the months, the chiefs made what seems to be a traditional comment. During Falitr, they said, there is little food.

There are also names for the 30 nights in each moon. The first night is dark of the moon; or, as our interpreter put it, 'no can see in east; close to come up in west.' He said these terms had no meaning, 'only name'. The list follows:

1. segouru
2. eling
3. me̍jeling
4. me̍san
5. me̍zavu̍s
6. me̍zaman
7. mejatiu (e)
8. nametan
9. truawong
10. arobwugú
11. epei
12. olabwua
13. olmăo
14. măr
15. ur(u)
16. netū
17. ilăi
18. alēwa
19. sapas
20. avelag(i)
21. kope̍lang
22. koretaleavelag
23. saper mai muli
24. kilei mei muli
25. komalo
26. tromaleval
27. arovu
28. iaū
29. evāing
30. erapf(i) [9]

There are names also for main divisions of the day; morning (nijor); noon (ulelial); early afternoon (apeik o tangouel); mid-afternoon (lipelelian); late afternoon (nivegov); sunset (nivegov eror) and night (bwong). Finer designation of time is usually attempted by pointing, with arm and fingers extended in a line, at the position the sun is supposed to occupy at the time in question. Though there are names for stages of the tide, I never heard these used as designations of time.

The people have some interest in the remote past, but do not try to measure time in that area. They only tilt their heads back, point upward with wrinkled noses (the usual gesture of pointing), and say 'Musuwē, musuwē (long, long ago)'. They do not keep genealogies. Most of them can give the names only of those ancestors whom they knew in life. Maroligar, No. 2 chief, managed in the course of several days to think back five generations. That was a unique feat. There is no reckoning time by generations. As for the remote future, I saw no indication that they ever think of it. In general, their time span is short, as compared with that of some other primitive peoples, particularly their distant neighbors in the Pacific, the Polynesians."

1: Burrows--9-10 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 132 Ifalik I-3

"One of the clearest units of time in the minds of the people of Ifalik seems to be the *rag*. A *rag* is a period of five months. There are two of them, *seu e vang* and *seu rag* (or simply *vang* and *rag*), which alternate. In giving the list of month names, the chiefs put the first five in *vang*; the sixth 'in between'; the next five in *rag*; and the twelfth again, in between.

This corresponds fairly well to one of the most striking features of their climate, the seasons; so that *rag* might be translated 'season.' The people are quite clear on several characteristics of each *rag*. The first is the difference in direction of the prevailing wind. During *vang* the prevailing wind is from the east. During *rag* it is from the west, though less steadily. The second difference is in the supply of breadfruit. During *vang* there is very little breadfruit; during *rag*, there is plenty. A third difference is that one of the important methods of fishing is seasonal. *Vang* is the time for going out after flying fish (*mèngor*) on moonless nights, with torches of dried coconut leaf and dip-nets. During *rag* this kind of fishing is not practised. A fourth, lesser difference is that when there is breadfruit, they say, there are no golden plover (*kulohg*). When the breadfruit disappears, the plover arrive.

Native month names do not correspond exactly to those of our calendar, and we have no names for their seasons. But the seasons can be distinguished clearly enough in our terminology. The summary below was made by comparing notes taken during our stay on Ifalik with 'A Climatic Summary of the Caroline Islands', issued in 1944 by the

1: Burrows--9-10 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 132 Ifalik

Aerology Section of the Navy.

Vang is the season of northern-hemisphere trade winds, which blow from the east or a little north of east. It corresponds to the winter of more northerly latitudes. The easterly winds set in, light and fitful at first, about November. In 1947 they did not become established until nearly the end of that month, but the season was said to be rather late that year. The trade wind blows more and more steadily through December, and in January and February there are comparatively few [10] calms. It builds up during the day, reaching a maximum in early afternoon and dying down again in the evening. It is generally light, up to 12 miles per hour, rarely more than 18. Beginning about March it is more and more often interrupted by calms.

Rag is the season of calms and variable, prevailingly west winds. Commander Betts explained that these westerly winds are actually the southern-hemisphere trade winds, which reach this latitude when the sun is farthest north. Blowing from the east to southeast quarter in more southerly latitudes, they swing clockwise to the southwest of the Carolines and so reach this area from the west.

Temperature varies little from season to season. It is usually within five degrees of 80° Fahrenheit. The variation between day and night--10 degrees or so--is greater than that between seasons. Clouds often cover the sky and reduce insolation. Effective temperature, measured by rate of evaporation, is also lowered much of the time by breeze. Only bright, still days feel oppressively hot even to Americans. The natives seem to enjoy these, but are then inclined, even more than ever, to sit in the shade.

Rainfall is heavy. The nearest island for which records are available, Lamotrek, had a mean annual precipitation of 104.6 inches during the four years covered by the record. The season of calms and westerly winds, (April to August), is the rainiest, averaging more than 10 inches a month. As a rule, September, October, and November are relatively dry; December and January a little rainier; February the driest month of the year (mean precipitation on Lamotrek 2.1 inches), and March the next driest. However, rainfall may be heavy at any time. On Lamotrek, every month except February and September had more than 10 inches of rain during at least one of the four years of record.

Humidity is also steadily high, though somewhat less so during the season of easterly trade wind. It is disconcerting at first to see the apparently reckless handling of lighted bits of punk, rope, coconut husk, etc., in houses whose floors and roofs are covered with dried coconut leaf. Yet everything is so damp that accidental fires are rare; I saw but one during six months. For the same reason, cooking fires, though made of such light fuel as dried leaves and coconut husks, do not blaze high. They are smudgy so much of the time that most of the cooked food has a smoky taste."

1: Burrows--10-11 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 789, 502

"Some of the native experts--which is to say, in this case, the 'captains' or navigators of seagoing canoes--have ways of driving off unpleasant or dangerous weather. One day when it looked very black to windward we heard the sound of a conch-shell horn. Out on a stone pier that projects into the lagoon, seated facing the storm, was our interpreter, acknowledged to be the leading navigator of the island. He was alternately blowing the horn and gesticulating as if waving the storm aside. Although we could hear nothing, it seemed that a spell or incantation ought to go with the gestures. It did, and long after he dictated it to me,--a great favor, for such incantations are not generally known, indeed are rather carefully kept secret, and taught only to fellow-captains who pay for them with suitable presents. A translation of part of the incantation follows:

Dark clouds, the horn!
My god-invoking horn!
My talk goes to the clouds like fire. [11]
Turn aside, wind and cloud!

Bad weather, turn aside!
Die away, move away!

The spell was supposed to act on the rain like fire, and drive it away. That time it worked 'like a charm',--which, of course, it was. The next time he tried it, it failed completely. He did not seem disturbed. Fire does not always win over water. His feeling seemed to be that the incantation had a certain amount of power, which might or might not be enough in a particular case. It was always worth trying.

In spite of magic, during the latter part of the west-wind season and sometimes the early part of the trade-wind season, wind sets in too strongly from the west, uprooting trees and taking the thatch off houses. At worst, it develops into a typhoon. A bad one sends waves clear over the island, carries away houses, and, what is worst, destroys food-bearing plants. The consequences of such a typhoon are vividly pictured in an old song:

Men are taking wing;
Flying in all directions
To islands where there is food, and trees standing.
. . . .

Let them go, we will stay on.
At least we will have rain to drink.

. . . .

Not many are staying.
The others can't stand it without shade.
Never mind, the rain will pour down on us,
And we'll find some shade
Under the little trees that are left.
Purak bushes will spring up on the beaches.

. . . .

Now the food is nearly gone.
We watch each other eat.
Look up, and there are no trees,
Here, where it used to be so fine."

1: Burrows--11 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 132 Ifalik

"Four middle-aged men, asked how many typhoons they remembered, talked the matter over and reported a total of six. Only one of these was so severe that seas washed over the island. The inundation lasted for about two hours, they thought. The people all gathered in and around a house back from the shore. A rope was thrown around them, and all clung to it. Some did not manage to reach this place, and were washed away. All the breadfruit trees, they said, were blown down, most of the coconut trees, and the taro was washed out or destroyed. They remembered hearing of two particularly bad typhoons before their time. Sarfert's list of early chiefs includes mention of four memorable typhoons in the past. A resident of Ifalik, then, must expect to experience a number of typhoons during his lifetime; and one or more of them will probably endanger the lives of the population."

1: Burrows--12 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 133 Ifalik 1·2

"Ifalik consists of a coral reef surrounding a nearly circular lagoon, whose area, according to the U.S. Commercial Company's Survey (Maps), is .939 of a statute square mile. (Photo). Four islets rise above high-water mark. Toward the south and west are two small ones, one of them a mere sandspit. Two large ones, separated by a narrow channel, run the length of the eastern side of the lagoon and extend somewhat beyond it to north and south. The total land area is .569 of a square mile. The population is concentrated on the lagoon side of the two larger islands, Falālap and Falārik.

Traditionally each of the eight main canoe-houses faces a pass. All but one of these, however, are too shallow for anything larger than a canoe. The steamer pass is on the south, between Falārik and Ellā, the larger of the uninhabited islets. Because of a few large coral heads the entrance is narrow and winding. Their removal would straighten it, and make it wide enough for large ships. In the lagoon there is ample room and depth for anchorage, sheltered during the trade-wind by the two larger islands. Outside the lagoon there is anchorage to the southwest, near the entrance to the pass, sheltered during trade-wind weather by the islet Ellā. Natives say that in a west wind ships used to anchor on the eastern side, off the channel between the two large islands. Landing there must have been difficult at any time, because the reef is steep-to and a high surf nearly always running.

On Falārik the land slopes up very gradually from the lagoon side. About half way across it is level, with some hollow places. Toward the seaward (eastern and northern)

1; Burrows--12 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 133 Ifalik

side it rises again. The highest land, which appears to be not more than 20 feet above mean sea level, is close to the seaward beaches. From this low ridge the land slopes away much more steeply to a narrow fringing reef.

All around Falālap the beaches are narrow, the slope up from shore relatively abrupt, as on the seaward side of Falārik. A ring of comparatively high land surrounds a central depression which takes up something like half of the area of the island. This conformation, and the extension of Falālap away from the lagoon, give it the appearance of a very small, nearly separate atoll, a little higher than usual, so that the center is a swamp instead of a lagoon."

1: Burrows--12-13 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 134 Ifalik 12

"Virtually all the land was built by coral polyps. The only igneous rock in sight anywhere on it is a single boulder on Falālap. This, the natives say, was brought by canoe in ancient times, as a whetstone for their adzes. Where it came from is no longer remembered.

Thin ledges of beach sandstone, compacted mainly from foramenifera, run along the seaward reef between high and low water mark in a number of places.

The consistency of the soil ranges from a fine muck in the taro swamps to piled blocks that form the highest land, just inshore from the seaward beaches. The lagoon shore of Falārik, and both sides of the channel between the two main islands, are [13] bordered by a broad strip of sand. Except where it is washed by the sea, this is colored gray by mixture with vegetable matter. All the houses on Falārik, and some of those on Falālap, are on this sandy strip. Between the sand of the lagoon side and the boulders of the seaward side, most of the soil consists of gravel of varying degrees of coarseness, mixed with some sand and humus.

The hollow center of Falālap is a quagmire. Stamping on the wet muck will make it quake perhaps 20 feet away. This swamp is the main source of taro for the people of both islands. Four little swampy depressions near the north end of Falārik are also planted to taro; but their contribution to the food supply is important only to a few households.

Although the land is too flat to form a watershed, drainage is rapid (except in the taro

4: Burrows--12-13 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 134 Ifalik

swamp) because of the extremely porous character of the soil. Puddles formed by a heavy downpour soon disappear. However, water seems to lie only a few feet below the surface everywhere. Artificial water-holes are scattered about the interior of Falārik. Hollow places are boggy most of the time. A hole being dug for the corner-post of a canoe-house began to fill with water at a depth of about four feet."

"All the islets of the atoll are covered with a vegetation that thrives on this forbidding-looking soil. The beaches are narrow, and there are no natural clearings. The growth is low in only a few places, next to the beaches and in patches of the big taro swamp. Elsewhere trees give nearly unbroken shade.

Heavy rainfall and rapid drainage have two effects on the vegetation. An unfavorable one is to leach out the soluble part, which is to say much of the plant food, in any decaying vegetable matter that accumulates on the ground. While this may prevent the growth of some plants, it is more than offset by another effect of rainfall and drainage, the leaching out of excess salts. Dr. F. Raymond Fosberg, who participated as a botanist in the U.S. Commercial Company's economic survey of this area, kindly prepared the following explanation of how this works:

'The vegetation may be summarized by saying that it is heavier and more luxuriant in direct relation to the amount of rainfall and the area of the island. This is because, as is well known, salinity produces a condition of physiological drought. Saline areas are characterized by a sparse vegetation similar to that of deserts. Where the rainfall is sufficient and the area is large enough to maintain a permanent lens of fresh or almost fresh water the vegetation of the interior portions is more or less mesophytic and luxuriant.'

This effect is heightened by the muck of such places as the taro swamp that takes up the interior of Falālap. To quote Dr. Fosberg again: 'It is probable that this muck, besides providing a more fertile substratum, retards the diffusion outward of the available fresh water, also retarding the diffusion inward of salt water that always accompanies dry periods.'

The number of plant species listed was 64, of which 26 were trees, three classified as shrubs, and the remaining 35, herbs. After spending several days in helping me collect the native names of plants, Tom assured me that I had all that grow on Ifalik. Of course, the statement was not accurate. In fact, several kinds [14] were added later, and no doubt some were missed. Still, the list probably gives a fair idea of native knowledge of the flora."

1: Burrows--14-15 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik 1-5

English or Hawaiian Name	Native Name	Scientific Name
coconut	lu, nu	Cocos nucifera
breadfruit	mai	Artocarpus altilis
banana	uir	Musa
pandanus	far	Pandanus
papaia	baiwai	Carica papaya
hau	gilivō	Hibiscus tiliaceus
kamani (tamanu)	raguēs, sevang, vitou	Calophyllum inophyllun Linn.
	wutu	Guettarda speciosa
	treli	Messerschmidia argentea(Linn.

1: Burrows--14-15
116, 137

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

gul	Barringtonia assiatica
lel	Morinda citrifolia
avus	Crataeva speciosa
warying	Ocimum sanctum
aro	Premna integrifolia Linn.
aroma	Pipturus argenteus (Forst. f.) (Wedd.
kelau, gula	Cordia subcordata Lam.
Gaingei	Pemphis acidula
tria	Rhizophora mucronata Lam.
song	Bruguiera conjugata (Linn.) (Merr.

1: Burrows--14-15 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 137 Ifalik

	remag, natu	Scaevola frutescens
	kasās	Terminalia catappa ? [15]
English or Hawaiian Name	**Native Name**	**Scientific Name**
plumeria, frangipani	seuru	Plumeria rubra
banyan	giliao	Ficus sp.
staghorn fern	kamarag	Gleichenia sp.
spider lily	giop	Crinum sp., probably asiaticum
bird's nest fern	e̍ne̍nux	Asplenium nidus
(a fern)	riri	Polypodium phymstodes Linn.
purslane	gop	Portulaca samoensis

1: Burrows--14-15
116, 137

(1947-48)

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

(a grass)	buyol	Lepturus repens (Forst.) (R. Brown)
turmeric	angorik, gerēl, geval	Curcuma longa Linn.
(a sedge)	bwogorewau	Cyperus brevifolius (Rottb.)
sugar cane	wou	Saccharum officinarum
taro	wot	Colocasia esculentia
pulaka	pulax	Cyrtosperma chamissonis
giant arum	filē	Alocasia macrorrhiza
Polynesian arrowroot	mogmog	Tacca leontope taloides
betel pepper	gabwī	Piper betle
betel palm	bu	Areca catechu

1: Burrows--14-15 (1847-48) Woleaians-5
116, 137 Ifalik

hibiscus	flerós	Hibiscus rosa-sinensis
bamboo	sur, bwa	Bambuseae
pineapple	fareṭrā	Ananas sativa
squash (a summer squash or vegetable marrow)	kalebwäs	Cucurbita pepo
moss (all kinds ?)	lum	Musci
mushroom (all kinds)	talingilipat	Fungi"

1: Burrows--16 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Coconut (lu or nu--the vowel sound variable, often liu or similar). Four varieties are distinguished. All are said to occur throughout the Carolines. The people say they can tell at once, by looking at a tree or ripening nut, to which variety it belongs. The difference, as they describe it, is in the shape, and more particularly, the color, of the husk when the fruit is ripening. The names of the varieties are used either like adjectives, following the generic name, or else as nouns, as when we call an apple a Baldwin.

The varieties are: garau(e)rau, husk brown when quite young; mau, husk green and round; tra, husk reddish; ial, yellowish. Of this last variety there are only a few trees on Ifalik. No distinction is made among the varieties in quality or suitability for particular uses."

1: Burrows--16 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Specimens of some of the plants of less importance to the people were not collected, because of limited room in a plant press improvised out of empty cartons. Having been advised that artificial heat would be necessary to collect plants in this region, I gave up in advance any attempt to preserve specimens. Later, when the trade winds set in, collection seemed worth risking; but the amount was limited to the number of used cartons. Not until we returned to Honolulu did I learn that satisfactory collecting would have been feasible by painting the specimens with formaldehyde.

Native names of plants unidentified for lack of specimens follow:

Trees: livalus (possibly Vigna marina), kirali, marat, mot, sol, rangonax,
faliap, kili, kuelabo.

Herbs: korax, ualomax, atogobwei, guruguru, kerriō, guan, bogo li le pa,
atilt, keisi, kevakuel, nge.

The most useful plants occur in a number of varieties. Names of some of these indicate the island from which they are traditionally supposed to have come. Botanical comparison might check the accuracy of these traditions; at any rate, they give some indication of the range of contact with other islands."

1: Burrows--16-17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"*Breadfruit* (*mai*): There are two main kinds, easily distinguishable by either the leaf or the fruit.

Mai vae--leaves very little indented; the young leaves not at all. Fruit comparatively small, with a number of large seeds (*pukil*).

Mai vau--leaves deeply indented. Fruit larger, with a fibrous core and no seeds. Seven sub-varieties of *mai vau* are distinguished: *tagumelin*, *mai rau*, *mai mwarei*, *seuaiki*, *welige sol*, *mauli*, *tro malo*.

Mai guiau--leaves deeply indented, like *mai vau*; fruit with seeds, like *mai vae*. Apparently this variety is comparatively unimportant.

No preference of one variety over another is expressed, so far as quality of fruit is concerned. The larger size of the fruit of *mai vau* and the absence of seeds are recognized as advantages. The seeds of *mai vae* can be eaten, but are often thrown away. *Mai vae* seems to bear earlier than *mai vau*, at least during the secondary crop, that which comes in early in the trade-wind season. The main practical difference [17] among the varieties seems to be that only two of the sub-varieties of *mai vau*, *tagumelin* and *mai rau*, are thought to have wood suitable for outrigger floats. It is said to be more buoyant than that of other varieties."

1: Burrows--17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

" 'Taro' (Pulax; Crytosperma chamissonis). Twelve varieties were pointed out: patsa, pulax e mau, pereliau, talinga mor (Mor's ear ?), talinga nap (big ear), sia li ralo, pulax i sali, annīpenni, pulax e bwar, filal, pwololo, etī li bwulax, gor. There are considerable differences in color, texture, and flavor of the underground part, and some are considered choicer than others. The varieties are indistinguishable at sight to me, and so they are, Tom assured me, to him. Taro is in the woman's sphere, and only women are experts in it. The only distinguishing characteristic pointed out by his wife, Lagajarong, applied to the variety called etī li bwulax. If I understood her rightly, she said that if you plant the pistil (?) from the flower of this variety, it will grow.

True taro; wot; Colocasia esculenta. An impromptu committee of three women gave me the following list of 18 varieties, and assured me it is complete: elibwā, gaimwem, waligo, likerak, tarewai, sarewāk, mivou, tolipannēu, ganipwā, garimar, geratīgi, pei, rangoi, togōs, otumalu, outeriap (from Yap). The tubers vary in texture, flavor, and public esteem. "

1: Burrows--17 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137 Ifalik

"Banana (Wir; *Musa sapientum*). Six varieties are recognized. No erect fruit clusters were seen. The fruit of all the varieties brought to us (I think this includes all there are except possibly the two Yap varieties) is sweet and can be eaten raw, though we preferred one or two of them cooked.

bwongĕr--this is considered the original variety, 'native' to the island. The fruit is large, the skin of an orange color, the flesh somewhat rosy. Fruit prized for eating, fiber for weaving, dried leaves for cigarette wrappers.

wIrIs Truk--supposedly from Truk. Fruit of medium size, pointed, yellow--our favorite. Fiber considered good for weaving, leaves for cigarette wrappers.

reiap--supposedly from Yap. This variety is used for all three purposes, but it is considered inferior.

melawalibwe--another variety ascribed to Yap. Fruit small and little eaten. Leaves not used for cigarette wrappers. This variety is chiefly valued for fiber from the trunk.

wIrIs Seipan--as the name indicates, supposedly introduced from Saipan. The bright yellow fruit is considered good (we preferred it cooked). Valued also for weaving fiber and cigarette wrappers.

wIri li Valupe--supposedly from Ponape. Short fruit in big bunches. Valued for all three uses. There are only a few plants of this variety on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--17-18
116, 137

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Pandanus--Three varieties are recognized.

far--considered the old native variety. Grows on relatively high, dry land. The favorite for mats. [18]

far en Nuta--supposedly introduced from 'Nuta', said to be in the Marianas--presumably what our charts call Rota. Cured leaves prized for sails.

pogū--grows in swampy places. Glossy leaves of enormous size. Valued only to wrap around coconut trunks to prevent rats from climbing."

1: Burrows--18 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"All three of the domesticated animals common in Pacific islands--dog, hog, and fowl--are present on Ifalik. There are also a few cats. All but the cats are used for food, but they do not make up an important part of the diet. Chickens are the most numerous, yet their flesh remains a delicacy. The eggs, which are very small, are rarely eaten.

Hogs are few. The little pigs are treated as pets, occasionally even suckled by the women. When they grow bigger their feeding seems to be rather haphazard. Indeed, except for coconuts and taro--of which they get the left-overs--there is not much food to spare for them. Some reach a good size, and look well fed. But pork is so highly prized, and meat of any kind so scarce, that they are a constant temptation. There seems to be little prospect of their number increasing greatly.

Dogs are not raised for food, but may be eaten on occasion. During our stay on the island, three were killed because they had bitten human beings. The first was driven into the lagoon and drowned there. The second was reported to have been eaten. Nothing was said about eating the third.

The people tell of rather recent introduction of all three species. In 1909, Sarfert found fowl and two dogs. There were no pigs. He was told that there had been a few cats, but all were lost in the typhoon of 1907.

The appearance of the hogs and chickens seems to bear out the story of recent introduction. The hogs are not long-snouted and razor-backed. Most of them look like

1: Burrows--18 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 231, 177 Ifalik

Berkshires. The fowls, too, are not long-legged and gamy, as an old native type might be expected to be. Many of them resemble our standard egg-producing breeds. Others are of less familiar colors, but these might develop from crossing.

The appearance of the dogs, though, is distinctive. All seem to be of the same breed. While there is some variation in size, they do not run to extremes either way. They average about the size of fox-hounds or a little less, but shorter in the barrel. The hind legs seem to be somewhat like those of a chow, --straighter than the form prevalent with us. They are short-haired, with pointed muzzles. The ears are pointed and partly erect, drooping over for about half their length. (One had bat ears.). The tails, feathered with somewhat longer hair, are carried high and curl over the back. In color most of them are black and tan, mainly black, with some tan on chest, belly, paws, face, and about the base of the tail. A minority are white with tan blotches; a very few, white all over."

1: Burrows--18-19 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 136

"The existence of native names, not obviously borrowed, for all three species (gelago, dog; sirō, hog; malok, fowl) suggests that knowledge of all these animals may be ancient. One of the songs collected contains a mythical account of the introduction of fowls from heaven. A man named Galuai, carried up there by a huge bird, tied several fowls to his body just before he jumped back to earth. They softened his fall by flapping their wings. But apart from questions of historical accuracy, Galuai came from Yap, and returned there. Moreover, the whole story is so different from anything else collected on Ifalik that it looks like something borrowed from a different culture. [19]

One possibility is that the three domesticated species have indeed been known on Ifalik from ancient times, but have died off, perhaps more than once. A typhoon big enough to wash over the island might wipe out any or all of them. In that case, their re-introduction may well be recent. In the case of the dogs, if re-introduction was from another island, they could still be of an old native breed."

1: Burrows--19 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik 1-2

"As to wild fauna, the only small forms which the natives consider important are pests. They are beginning to be aware, through foreign instruction, of harmful bacteria. Lice infest their heads, and they may be seen delousing each other's hair as a friendly service.

Mosquitoes abound. Two varieties were noticed. One is a small black day-flying kind, common about houses and in other shady places. (*Pipiens?*) The other is larger, lighter in color, with striped legs, and is active at night. Mosquitoes can be blamed for filariasis, which is not very prevalent. It is probably unnecessary to add that all this part of the Pacific is free from malaria.

Flies are even more numerous than mosquitoes. They gather in swarms about food that attracts them, particularly fish and crustaceans. The commonest kind is black, the same to a layman's eye as the common house fly of America. Another is rusty in color, slimmer, with red eyes and wings that stand out from the body.

Nothing was seen or heard of centipedes or scorpions. Spiders of various kinds are common. None was pointed out as dangerous.

There are no snakes, but lizards of several kinds are pentiful. [sic] Common about the houses is the little dark *kuel* (a geko, perhaps *Lepidodactylus lugubris*). The people are said to fear it because one moment you see it, the next you don't. This fear does not seem to trouble them much, though. Another small variety is the blue-tailed skink (*Emoia cyanura*--Lesson). Far from being feared, these have been seen to jump on a

1: Burrows--19 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 136 Ifalik

man's bare leg and off again without attracting any apparent notice. A larger, glossy black lizzard, the *tagurupai* (not identified), is noticeable especially on the trunks of coconut trees. Big monitor lizards (galūf; probably *Varanus indicus*--Daudin) are found on Falālap, where they are said to have been introduced to prey on rats. The natives say they also eat eggs and young chickens. The people maintain that there are none on Falārik. No large ones were seen there. Smaller ones of similar color are said to be of a different kind."

1: Burrows--19-20 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik 13

"There are few varieties of land birds. The Micronesian starling (some sub-species of Aplonis opacus) is a common scavenger about the houses. Another is a versatile little songster (iltri), equally at home among the trees, where it catches flies with snapping bill, or on the ground, where it picks at crawling creatures or garbage. In color it is rusty brown on the back, light gray below. This color and its excellent singing suggest a small thrush or chat (turdus obscurus?).

Wading shore birds are more varied. The Pacific golden plover (kulong; Pluvialis dominica fulva Gmelin) is a dooryard bird during that part of the year when it is to be found on Ifalik. Mention in songs and in conversation showed that the natives have a kind of fondness for it, as Americans and English have for the quite different species called 'robin' in their two countries. Other wading birds are turnstone (nigenrouru; probably Arenaria interpres Linn.); an unidentified species with long straight bill (bwongupalei; perhaps a dotterel, charadrius;) [20] wimbrel or curlew (liak; probably numenius phaeopus variegatus (Scopoli); another known only by name, garevāsh, but from the description quite like the curlew; and herons of three colors--white, 'blue' or slaty; and sooty, virtually black. All were called by the same name, (liapelīk), and all may be forms of the reef heron (Demigretta sacra).

Passing migrants included swallows, seen over the lagoon for a few evenings, and hawks of some broad-winged kind, a pair of which spend about a week on Falārik. Of all the birds mentioned, only the plover seemed to attract more notice among the people than any other familiar bit of landscape.

Sea-birds are numerous and have some importance. One variety, the noddy tern (kurugao; Anous sp.) is used for food. Another common variety is the white fairy tern (giegie; Gygis alba). These two nest on Ifalik. Both indicate the presence of schools of fish by hovering over them and swooping to catch the small fry on which the school is feeding. Other kinds of tern are seen occasionally, among them the black-naped tern (sterna sumatrana; native name uncertain), but apparently do not nest on the island. The white tropic bird or bos'n bird (mālu; Phaethon lepturus) is not common, but is occasionally seen. It is said to be plentiful on uninhabited West Fayu. The same is true of the frigate bird or man o'war bird (getaf; Fregata sp.). The natives have an esthetic admiration for this bird and its soaring flight.

Names of other sea birds were collected, but the birds were not seen and could not be identified. The kemã or xemã, described as a large bird 'some of them white, some blue', might be a booby. 'Blue' is a poor name for the color of the brown ones, but Tom's English was far from precise about colors. No boobies nest on Ifalik, but brown ones were seen at sea not far from there. Koro is a long-tailed seabird, also in two colors; koro wet, a white one, and koro rol, black. Still other varieties mentioned in the lore of navigation are paiennai (white, larger than fairy tern); metalipangerale, with long tail feathers (possibly 'Captain's language' for some species with a different common

1: Burrows--19-20 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 136 Ifalik

name); and gerap, a small black and red bird. (The description fits the cardinal honey-eater (Mysomela cardinalis) found on high islands in that part of the Pacific; but that is a land bird.)"

1: Burrows--20 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"No flying-fox or other bats were seen on Ifalik. The only mammal, other than the three domesticated ones already discussed, is the rat. For a time they overran our tents at night. We set traps and caught one every night for more than a week. After that, whether because of the traps or because a cat began to include a visit to us in its nightly rounds, they did not trouble us again until near the end of our stay. In general, while they were certainly common, they did not seem inordinately numerous. Those we caught were not very big; brownish on head and back, light gray underneath. Some larger and apparently grayer ones were seen among the coconut trees, but not clearly enough to give a definite impression as to whether they were of a different species. Rats are not eaten."

1: Burrows--20-21 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136 Ifalik

"There are several kinds of land crabs. Hermit crabs (yng) are common on the beaches and about the houses. They are not recognized as of any importance, though they may be useful as scavengers. A larger, dark kind (arIk) that digs holes about houses at night, is sometimes eaten, we were told; but apparently not highly regarded. Tom said he never ate them himself. The ragōm, that lives in the ground in the bush, is eaten, also crushed to make bait for fish-traps. The usela, not seen, is described as a slow-moving crab that [21] lives in the tops of coconut trees. The largest species, and one of the choicest delicacies, is the coconut crab (afe; Birgus latro Dana). These are only the most familiar kinds. In general, any that are big enough to be worth the trouble are eaten."

1: Burrows--21 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 262 Ifalik +2

"Sea animals are far more important to the people than those of air or land. Nearly all varieties that are caught are eaten. Even the whale (ras), though never caught, is eaten on the rare and memorable occasions when one goes aground on the reef. Jawbones of several of them were kept behind the men's house as trophies.

Exceptions to the rule of eating everything are the shark (pagō) and octopus (sauevang? --name discussed next paragraph). This was explained as a mutual arrangement. The people do not eat shark and octopus, so that shark and octopus will not eat them. Once a small octopus-like creature, stuffed into a Japanese mess-kit so that its shape did not show, was brought to us as a gift. It had tentacles, and I now suppose it was a squid; but in asking Tom how to cook it I called it an octopus. With a contemptuous expression he told us to throw it away, saying that Japanese and Trukese eat octopus, but not the people of Ifalik. Later, after conferring with the chief who brought it, he said it was not an octopus but a gus, a rare delicacy. It was too late then for our gus to be cooked. I had not even looked at it carefully. Asked whether gus is the name for a small octopus, Tom said not. A gus, he explained, has no beak, and will not bite a hand thrust into a hole in the coral, as an octopus will. We never saw another gus.

Tom consistently gave the native name for octopus as sauevang. Some of his remarks about it, --for example, 'in the deep water they grow big, with arms like the roots of that tree'--indicated that he knew what the English word meant. Yet a group of natives

1: Burrows--21 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

once identified as sauevang two pictures in Hosaka's 'Sport Fishing in Hawaii'; one of a conger or white eel, the other of a brown eel. They cannot have mistaken either for octopus, though they might for moray--not illustrated by Hosaka--which is common on the reef. This discrepancy was not noticed in time to clear it up.

Moray and sting-ray (fai) are apparently not eaten, though I have no verbal statement to that effect. A sting-ray brought ashore near our quarters was left hanging in a tree, then lying on the ground, for several days before it disappeared, presumably either eaten by dogs or thrown away.

In Tom's private prayer or incantation for success as a navigator, sting-ray is coupled with shark and giant clam as formidable creatures invoked to watch over him. In translating, he said that the giant clam, called trewai in the incantation, is found only on high islands. We saw no very large Tridacna, but small ones are common on the reefs. They seem not to be important as food. Large trumpet shells are found occasionally, the flesh eaten, and the shell used as a container or kept on the house platform as an ornament. Small shellfish of many kinds are gathered for food on the reef when the surf is not too high; among them sea-shails, limpets, Turbo, and at least one clam-like bivalve."

1: Burrows--21-22
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Far the most important source of animal food is fish. The list of varieties to follow was obtained by two procedures. One was to collect native names of fish brought to us as gifts, or brought ashore in our presence, and of others said to be important. The other was to show groups of natives the pictures of fish in Hosaka's book, mentioned above. Size and color, not shown in the pictures, were indicated by gestures and words. The people were confident that they knew which of the fish shown in the pictures were familiar to them and which were not. They had names for most of those illustrated,--sometimes more than one name for one picture, which may indicate [22] a difference of opinion, or more than one variety of similar form, or--what is not uncommon--one name for a species when young, another when full grown. Eliminating known cases of that kind and obvious variants of essentially the same name, the total number of names collected is 74. Names obtained in the two ways were compared. Twice the book was taken out to where a pile of fish lay waiting to be distributed. So far as the catch on those days allowed, the pictures were compared with actual specimens. The identifications that follow can probably be trusted as far as larger categories are concerned. Where a single species is widespread, even the specific identification is probably correct. In view of the rough and ready method, some mistakes must be expected. But at least the list will give an idea of the range and character of the fish taken for food."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians 1-11
Ifalik

"Classification by habitat seemed useful, but is bound to involve some overlapping, possibly some definite errors.

OPEN SEA OR SURF FISH

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
albacore	aúle	Germo alalunga (Gmelin
barracuda	serau	Sphyraena barracuda (Walbaum
blue crevally	langu (when small, saritr)	Caranx stellatus
bonito, skipjack	galangap, garangap, garȳng	Euthynnus pelamis
bonito, little tunny	ajInnéu	Euthynnus alletteratus (Rafinesque

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
dolphin, mahimahi	teparo	Coryphaena hippurus (Linn.
flying fish	mĕngōr	Cypselurus simus
horse mackerel, akule‣	agumau?*, sep*	Selar crumenophthalmus (Bloch
omaku	trep	Caranx mate [23]
sailfish	marelatīo	Istiophorus orientalis (Schlegel
uoua	iau	Neomyxus chapitali (Eydoux and , Souleyet

"* Native reports inconsistent.

‣ To me, a fish they called lipau looked very like what in Hawaii is called akule; but the chief Maroligar insisted it was not the same as the picture."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
wahoo, ono	ngeli	Acanthocybium (Cuvier
yellowfin tuna, ahi	tangē̈r, tangIri, (when small, tagū	Neothunnus macropterus (Schlegel
	LAGOON FISH	
flounder	lipē̈ri	Platophrys mancus (Broussonet
milkfish	autā*	Chanos chanos
mullet	geraf, autā*	Mugil cephalos
needlefish	ewo kang, ta'aku	Belone playura

"* Native reports inconsistent."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-4
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristis murdjan (Forstal
shiner (? silvery, with rosy blotches)	oerIk	(Anchoviella purpurea?)
threadfish, moi	rerepago*, 'absent'*	Polydactylus Sexfilis
	REEF FISH	
alaihi	gutr or kotr	Holocentrus diadema
balloon fish	taũsh	Chilomysturus affinis
balloon fish	lotr; when small, wat	Tetrodon hispidus (Linnaeus

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"* Native reports inconsistent."

1: Burrows--22-25 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
banded damselfish	maze	Abudefduf (Quoy and Gaimard [24]
goatfish	'many kinds': fauligi, semarubwong, seuiarang (yellow), shou, sounalo, perhaps others.	Pseudupeneus
hawkfish, black-sided	galietr*, mwelialo*	Paracirrhites forsteri (Schneider
hawkfish, white-lined	lemware	Paracirrhites arcatus (Cuvier

"* Native reports inconsistent."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-6
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
Linalea, kala	ig valevale	Naso unicornis (Forskal
maiko	gemaruaga	Hepatus lineolatus
manini	limēn	Hepatus triostegus (Linnaeus
manini, yellow	ligarigari	Chaetodon unimaculatus (Bloch
mu	tralautr	Monotaxis grandoculis (Forskal
nenue	rel	Kyphosus fuscus (Lacepede#

"# The rel of Ifalik is probably not fuscus; at least it has no brown or tawny tinge, but looks in different lights, black, gray, or gleaming silver. The scales are silver-white, outlined with black."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-7
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
scorpion fish, nohu	lõu[r]	Scorpaenopsis gibbosus (Schneider
opule	gago (luku	Anampses cuvier (Quoy and Gaimard
pao'o	limwale	Salarius zebra (Vaillant and Sauvage
papio	arong*, trep*	not given by Hosaka

"* Native reports inconsistent.

[r] Asked if they eat this fish, which is sometimes poisonous, natives said they do."

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-8
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
parrot fish	'Many kinds': are (red), are kulo̍ng (black-spotted), fagilimat, gauagaua gIrigIri, kabwu, moguaimwe, ngItra uiā (blue), perhaps others	Callyodon sp. [25]
po'opa'a	l̍ul̍ulau	Cirrhitus pinnulatus (Schneider
long-fin razorfish	pe̍toura	Iniistius pave (Valenciennes
redfish, big-eye	nipau	Priacanthus cruentatus (Lacepede
red squirrelfish	mol	Myripristus murdjan (Forskal

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-9
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
sandfish; a'awa	vatre	Lepidaplois bilunulatis (Lacepede
snapper	taiau	Aprion virescens (Valenciennes
spot pom	shonno	Abudefduf sordidus (Forskal
surgeon fish	evali	Hepatus bariene (Lesson
triggerfish	bwūp	Balistapus rectangulus (Schneider
triggerfish, black	perematr	Melichthys buniva (Lacepede
ulua, black	arong	Caranx sexfasciatus (Quoy and Gaimard
ulua, white	etām	Carangoides ajax (Snyder

1: Burrows--22-25
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians-10
Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
ulua, silver	(when small) silalīo	Blepharis ciliaris (Bloch
upapalu	ligotro	Amia frenata (Valenciennes
wake pueo	merāp	Upeneus arge (Jordon and Evermann
wake ula	wōmei	Mulloidicthys auriflamma (Forskal
wrasse(?)[r]	pezap	not given by Hosaka
wrasse, green; hinalea	iōiō*	Thalassoma umbrostygma (Ruppell

"[r] long, nearly tubular snout; about 10" long; rosy head, after parts darker.
* Native reports inconsistent. "

1: Burrows--22-25 (1947-48) Woleaians-11
116, 136, 262 Ifalik

English or Hawaiian Name	Ifalik Name	Scientific Name
kihikihi	iwājōla	not given by Hosaka"

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 313, 137 Ifalik

"The supply of wood, whether for fuel or timber, is scanty. Breadfruit, makes a good soft wood; but since the trees are needed to grow food, there is little of it to spare. Many species furnish hard wood; but on Ifalik none of them grow into large trees."

1: Burrows--26
116, 136, 262

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Most prized of all animal foods is the meat of the sea turtle. Though the sight of one or two of them in the lagoon is not uncommon, they are not often taken. We knew of four being caught during our six months on Ifalik; three of them at one time. They are made still scarcer for most of the people by the fact that the highest chief has a right to all of them. He distributes first to his clan, Kovalū. Others get only what surplus he cares to distribute to them. For the lower orders, the taste of turtle is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 221 Ifalik

"On the whole, raw materials to be found on Ifalik and nearby atolls, whether supplied by nature or introduced by man, add up to a decidedly meager offering. Among foodstuffs, only coconuts, taro--more exactly, pulax--and breadfruit are plentiful. (Breadfruit is a seasonal crop but, as will be shown, is available between bearing seasons in preserved form. Seafood is present in great variety. The quantity available varies with the seasons and with other factors.

Some of these, such as the movements of fish that travel in schools, are so uncontrollable and unpredictable that they can only be classified as 'fishermen's luck.' Others include fishing equipment and techniques. Because of their importance, this matter will be considered again at the close of the account of fishing technology."

1: Burrows--26 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 135 Ifalik

"Materials other than foodstuffs are also limited, except for coral. Without coral there would be no plants and no people, but it has few more specific uses."

1: Burrows--26
116, 176

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This environment, rather inhospitable as far as supply of raw materials is concerned, decidedly limits the development of native crafts and industries. The same effect is produced by the climate, a matter in which the environment is, most of the time, anything but severe. There is no need for elaborate development of shelter or clothing. Industry, particularly in building, is still further discouraged by the worst feature of the climate, the typhoons. They do not come often, but when they do, they destroy almost everything that men can make. Two more geographic factors make for simplicity in human works and ways. One, that so small an island can support but few people. The other, that stretches of sea isolate these few from other peoples. These factors keep to a minimum the stimulus of contact with other minds and their inventions."

1: Burrows--26
116, 136

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Native names of fish not otherwise identified:

fofo, an open-sea fish, may be a yard long, slim, caught in traps around drifting logs. Except for small size resembles Hawaiian ono (Acanthocybium solandri) but natives, shown the picture of ono, insisted it was a different kind.

lipwaix, a reef fish, caught by angling; eight inches to a foot long. Prominent pointed teeth. Color, blotched red and purple.

porosh--named, not seen; 'small mouth, fat inside skin.' (These characteristics resemble rel; another Kyphosus?)

ireileile--named, not seen; dorsal and ventral fins extend to tail.

oră--small yellow reef fish."

1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 176 Ifalik

"TECHNOLOGY

This section deals with the natives' ways of putting to use the material resources outloned [sic] in preceding pages. Apparently the people of Ifalik, like most peoples, have invented very little of their technology themselves. Virtually all of it is shared with neighboring islands, and its fundamentals are known far and wide over the Pacific. No evidence of local invention was discovered, unless songs locally composed, or the custom of sea-burial which seems to be confined to Ifalik, can be attributed to local invention. Comparative study may indicate that this atoll has made come[sic] other contribution to the common stock of technology. Whether or no, this can not be determined by data from Ifalik alone. Here it is only possible to sum up the cultural resources or traditional techniques which enable the natives to make a living out of the rather slim stock of raw materials which their island affords them."

1: Burrows--27 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 342 Ifalik

"House floors and house platforms are graded and covered with waveworn coral gravel (faumax). Water drains through this rapidly, keeping the platforms relatively clean and dry in rainy weather. Commonly the gravel is outlined with a row of coral blocks, which keep it in place. Along the lower sides of platforms on sloping ground the blocks are piled to form a rudimentary retaining wall. Appearance was clearly the motive for an elaboration noted on one site. This has an outer and an inner platform, the latter a few inches higher. A similar bit of terracing, somewhat overgrown, marks one side of the platform at Katel where the men's house of Rauau district formerly stood. This decoration apparently served to enhance the dignity of the place.

Coral blocks are piled in several places to form piers that extend into the lagoon. Large blocks form walls around the outside. These are filled in with finer rubble. On some of the piers are little houses, which get more breeze than those set back in the coconut grove. These buildings, though, being correspondingly exposed to high winds, do not last long. Two were destroyed during our stay. Two piers near our tent had lost the buildings that once stood on them, and the seaward walls had been battered in by waves during some typhoon.

Coral blocks are also used to build the fishing weirs described later."

1: Burrows--27-28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 412 Ifalik

"A kind of stone, coralline in origin but of relatively dense, even texture and crystalline appearance, is obtained under water at a single location on the seaward side of the reef a little west of the pass, near the uninhabited island Ellā. From this are made pounders (faulipō), which are used by the women to mash taro and breadfruit. The pounders are of the same general shape as those of Polynesia. They have rounded vertical handles which flare outward at both ends: slightly at the top, to form a knob; much more at the bottom, forming a heavy base with round, slightly convex pounding surface. (See photograph, Fig. _______) Those used on Ifalik are comparatively small, perhaps because it is hard to find larger pieces of the stone without cracks or flaws. Most of them are about 8 inches high and 5 inches in diameter at the base. [28]

The workmanship is rough and simple. The only decoration seen consists of one or two little bosses left projecting on top of the handle. Pounders are made by either men or women. The implement used nowadays to make them is an old hatchet head without a handle. Holding the stone in the left hand and the hatchet head in the right, the craftsman hacks out crisscross lines on the places to be cut down, particularly what is to become the handle. Then he chips off the squares left projecting between the lines; pecks them off, rather, for most of the stone comes away as dust instead of chips. When the shape has been roughed out, the surface is finished by rubbing with another piece of stone. It is slow work. An elderly woman was seen busy at one nearly every morning for about two weeks."

1: Burrows--28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245 Ifalik

"Human life on Ifalik depends on the coconut palm. The story of how much Pacific island peoples rely on this 'most useful of trees' has been told repeatedly. But this atoll culture can not be described without retelling their particular version.

The sandy strip around the lagoon side of the two larger islands, and on both sides of the channel between them, is virtually unbroken coconut grove. Old coconut plantings, more or less gone back to bush, run clear across the northern tip of Falārik, and extend southward beyond the houses on the eastern shore of Falālap. Coconut trees are mixed with the other vegetation everywhere except in the heart of the taro swamp that takes up the center of Falālap. Because of this mixture, no accurate estimate of the percentage of land taken up by coconuts seemed feasible. All that can be said is that the fraction must be large."

1: Burrows--28 (1847-48) Woleaians
116, 324, 333 Ifalik

"The beach sandstone (pérou) found in ledges on the reef between high and low water mark is known to be harder and stronger than coral. But the people have few uses for it. The corner posts of a single building, the men's house, are of perou. Slabs long enough for this use are hard to find, still harder to haul into place. Their only advantage over wooden posts is that they do not rot inthe ground. Four slabs, apparently once corner posts, are all that is left of the men's house that once stood just inland from the present site. The stone posts of the men's house, which itself symbolizes the authority of the chiefs, are symbols of strength and permanence. This is brought out in the name of one of the men's religious dances, súr perou (stone house post). The idea seems to be that everything rests on that firm base.

Slabs of perou, which has a smoother, straighter surface than coral, are used for the top course of the walls that surround the stone piers. An occasional one is seen as a backrest (mageru) on a house platform."

1: Burrows--28 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381 Ifalik

"Lime is made in Ifalik, as in many Pacific islands, by burning coral over a large wood fire in a pit. It forms the pigment for the white lines in the traditional design used for painting a canoe. Mixed with water and ashes of burned coconut husks, it makes a mortar or putty (bwėr) for sealing the holes about the lashings in canoe-hulls. Before the advent of foreign dyes, it was mixed with an infusion of bark of the lel tree to make a red dye for native cloth. The people of Ifalik do not use lime to clean and bleach their hair.

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 252, 262 Ifalik

"To prepare for cooking with other vegetables, the flesh of the ripe nut is grated with a different instrument, the large grater in general use throughout the tropical Pacific. It consists of a toothed edge, curved to fit the inside of a coconut, and attached to a stick. The stick may be laid across a log, or may be cut from a bough or sapling near where two branches fork off. The butt of a main piece and short lengths of the branches form a tripod. The grating edge, lashed to the projecting end of the main piece, may be of coconut shell or even rough coral; but nowadays virtually every household has a grater with a cutting edge filed out of a piece of steel. The grater is straddled and a half coconut, held in both hands, rubbed over it by pushing away from the body. The grated meat is put in a bowl, water poured over it, and the creamy juice squeezed out with the hands. Wringers of coconut husk fiber, which make a richer cream, but take more muscle, are not used in Ifalik.

The starchy vegetables which make up the bulk of the diet are commonly cooked in this coconut cream. Rarely is a meal served without either taro or breadfruit enriched with it. Coconut cream supplies most of the oil in the diet, though supplemented by oil from fish.

It would be a sad day in an Ifalik household if the morning and evening meals lacked one more coconut product,--the fresh toddy (*garī*) extracted from the flower stalks. Collecting toddy, morning and afternoon, is a daily task for the younger men. Climbing coconut trees is not expected of older ones."

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 252 Ifalik

"Perhaps the most important of all uses of coconut are drinking the juice of the young nuts and eating the meat, particularly of the ripe ones. Like most Pacific islanders, the Ifalik people have different names for the nut at different stages. A nut full-grown but green, full of good juice to drink, is called upu. When somewhat more mature, with sweeter juice but the flesh still soft, it is called seou. A ripe nut is mazou. A very ripe one, suitable for making copra, is trō; a sprouting nut, trō far.

Though some of the water in dug wells, or that collected in helmet shells or foreign metal drums, is used for drinking, the juice of young coconuts makes up far the greatest part of the drinking water. It is also used in a healing ritual which involves breaking open a young nut above the head of the patient, so that the juice pours over him.

The soft flesh of the young nut may be scooped out and eaten. Scoops are made, as generally in the tropical Pacific, by cutting off a bit of the green husk with a slanting blow of the knife, which gives it a sharp edge and a spoon-like shape. The hard flesh of the ripe nut may be split out of the shell and either eaten raw or roasted over an open fire. More commonly, though, it is removed by grating with an instrument like a spoon with a round bowl and a toothed edge where the point of one of our spoons would be. These are made of pieces of white metal like what used to be called 'German silver'. Making them is said to be an industry of many years' standing throughout the Carolines. Raw coconut eaten in this way is one of the main articles of diet Another is the spongy

1: Burrows--29 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 252 Ifalik

body that fills the center of a sprouting nut. These are eaten without cooking or other preparation."

"The process of making toddy is simple. A flower stalk is cut off squarely just short of the bud. It is then bound around with sinnet cord, taking turns about a half-inch apart. From this cord is slung a coconut shell, with a hole in the top, to catch the liquid that drips from the cut edge. This edge must be continually cut back, a narrow slice at a time, to keep the wound fresh. The toddy-maker must climb the tree, change shells, and freshen the cut, twice a day. The juice is strained through a funnel made of the fabric from around the base of the leaves. Toddy is carried and kept, nowadays, in glass bottles.

Some trees will not yield toddy at all. The people have no way of telling this in advance. An average tree, they say, yields about a quart a day; an especially good one, two or three quarts. One flower stalk will drip continuously for about two months. After that it is allowed to heal and the tree given a rest. The trees are not injured if treated in this way, the natives say.

Fresh toddy is considered especially good for children and old people, but all ages enjoy it. It is milky white in color, and has a sweet taste. Used with taro, in addition to coconut cream, it makes some of the few delicacies of Ifalik cooking."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302 Ifalik

"Ripe coconuts have one more use. It is customary to oil the skin with coconut after the bath. This especially on dress occasions, when the oil may be mixed with perfume, of which the people are extravagantly fond, or with flame-colored turmeric paint, imported from Yap or Truk. Oil is extracted by trying out grated coconut over a slow fire. The oil gradually rises to the top. For everyday use, though, few go to so much trouble. Half of a ripe coconut, with its meat grated with the ever-present little hand grater and rubbed over the body, supplies oil enough.

Coconut ointment has a high sentimental value. The commonest conventional ending for a lament is the word Gapītei-my coconut ointment. It is a term of endearment, --as if nothing could be more precious."

1: Burrows--30
116, 273

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The people know how to ferment the juice and make an alcoholic drink of it. All that is necessary is to abstain from washing the shells in which it is collected, and from straining it; and then to let it stand for four days. The chiefs forbid the practise. Their prohibition works about as well as that tried for some years by the United States. That is to say, those who enjoy drinking fermented toddy (called *tubwa* as in Yap) make it quietly and drink it without interference. Some of the men drink glass after glass in the course of an evening. A slightly bleary look about the eyes, and a tendency to be jovial or sentimentally friendly, were the only effects we noticed. Drunkenness to the point of a staggering gait or quarrelsome talk, let alone violence, was completely absent. Toddy is not the problem in Ifalik that it is said to be in some more populous islands."

1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 352 Ifalik

"Whole ripe nuts in their husks are lying on the ground everywhere about the houses. Here they may be used as furniture. The people hardly ever sit on the ground. If there is reason to sit outdoors longer than it is comfortable to squat, they will tuck a coconut under them for a stool. In the canoe-houses, where the men spend a great part of their days, working at light jobs, talking, smoking, or simply sitting, coconuts in the husk are always at hand, and are used as pillows, knee-rests or elbow-rests."

1: Burrows--31
~~116~~ 283

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Coconuts are husked in the way usual in tropical Pacific islands. A stake of hard wood, some 2 1/2 feet long, is pointed at both ends. One end is driven into the ground. The coconut, held with one hand at each end, is jammed against the other end of the stake where the point protrudes, and the husk pried off in strips.

This supplies another useful product. A piece of coconut husk makes a scrubbing brush for a bath. It serves as a napkin to wipe off the fingers after a meal. Dry coconut husks are important as fuel. One of them will hold fire until time for the next smoke, or while carrying borrowed fire from one house to another. Thin slices of coconut husk, with its rather spongy texture, are laid between the planks of a canoe before they are gummed and lashed together. They expand when wet, and keep the seams tight.

Charcoal from burnt coconut husks is mixed with coral lime to make the putty or mortar used to seal the holes in a canoe hull where the lashing runs through.

Short lengths of a crude kind of rope are twisted out of raw coconut husk fiber. They make wicks (atoliēf) to preserve fire. Such a wick is commonly kept alight during a sea voyage."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 415 Ifalik

"The shell of the nut, with a round hole cut in the bud end, is used as a bottle (peraliĕt) to collect toddy. The disc cut out may be used as a lid. Such a covered container, with a bit of sennit cord for a bail, is called louyā. A half shell makes a cup, dipper, or small bowl. Strung on a cord with the hollow side down, a coconut half shell will keep rats from getting at food suspended below it."

1: Burrows--31 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 777 Ifalik

"A ripe coconut in its husk may serve as a charm (mwiri). In one of the songs, a woman asks such a charm—simply a coconut in the husk, placed beside the house--to ensure the safe return of her lover who is at sea. With a strip of young leaf tied about it, knotted in three places, the coconut becomes a rol gapesh, and takes on special power. In the ritual performed just before a canoe sets out on an interisland voyage, one of these is tapped against the seams of the hull. It is credited with power to prevent leaks."

1: Burrows--31-32
116, 283, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 13

"The principal use of coconut husks is to supply fiber--sennit--for cordage. Preparation of sennit (gos) is women's work. The husks are first soaked in fresh water to soften them, and dissolve some of the matter that holds the fibers together. If there are no natural pools about, as there are on the borders of the taro swamp on Falālap, artificial water-holes, called libwaligos, are dug and walled with blocks of coral. Men may do the work, but the finished pools are tabu to men. If a man goes into one, he will catch no fish for 20 days afterward, and will get sick if he even tries, --so they say.

When the fibers are sufficiently loosened, a woman takes them to the shore and sits in the shallow water with a short log or projecting coral head in front of her. This she uses as an anvil, laying the softened husks on it and beating them with a stick until the fibers separate. During the process she repeatedly dips them in the water and shakes them about to remove all but the fibers. Finally she takes these ashore and spreads them [32] in the sun to dry. They now form a light, fluffy mass.

From this point men take over. Making rope is the light work they carry about with them to sociable gatherings, as a woman may take her knitting in our culture. They make rope by the hour as they sit with their friends in the canoe houses. It does not interfere with talking or smoking.

The fibers are carefully picked over until they all lie parallel. Little tufts of them are pulled out and twisted, with one hand at each end, into single strands [KS: native word omitted] two or three feet long. When enough of these are on hand, they are rolled together between palm and thigh--most often on the right, but sometimes on the left--into two-strand cord.

This cord can be made as long as desired. Its thickness, too, can be varied. The smallest is called *golgaulIk.* What seems to be the commonest size, about 1/8" to 3/16" in diameter, is *golgol.* A larger two-strand cord, about 3/8" in diameter, is *geref.* A third strand may be added to this by another rolling on the thigh; it is then called *garotel.* Stouter ropes, in order of increasing size, are *taani, taliou rɨk,* and *taliounap.* Hawsers (*tennap*) are made of three strands of rope. In laying these, one man holds the finished end, and three others, each holding one strand, do a sort of maypole dance at the working end. When a piece a few feet long has been laid, it is slung over a beam, and the man holding the finished end leans back, using his weight to tighten it. On the other end the three holding separate strands do the same, ensuring a tightly-laid hawser.

Sennit cordage has an indefinite variety of uses. One of the most important is that of fastening together the timbers of canoes and houses, where it replaces the nails of our culture. Quite literally it accompanies the people of Ifalik from the cradle to the grave, for their cradles are strung with the cord, which forms bedsprings, and hung up by it; while enormous lengths of rope, brought by all the men as a last tribute, form the outer wrapping of a body when it is taken to sea for burial.

Another important use of sennit cordage is for making fishing nets. Light cotton netting, used for dip-nets and a few light seines, is bought ready-made from abroad; but large seines (ating) 5 or 6 feet wide and up to 200 feet long, are made of golgol.

Leaves of coconut have many uses. With their leaflets plaited together in various ways, they make thatch for the roofs of houses, screens for the walls, and sitting mats for the floors. (These are described in some detail in the section on house-building, p. 46.)"

1: Burrows--32-33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285 Ifalik 1-2

"Baskets (wėtau) of coconut leaf are carried about under men's arms, to do the work performed by pockets in our culture. They usually contain such personal gear as a bush knife, a small coconut grater, and smaller baskets of pandanus which hold tobacco and flint and steel. These coconut baskets are of several shapes. The cruder ones are quickly made of green leaf, plaited in check with the leaflet opened out to its full width. These are made by either men or women. The better ones are made of cured leaf, with the leaflets doubled and trimmed. This makes a basket of double thickness and of much finer wefts. This type is made only by women. [33]

One of the simplest of the baskets of open green leaf is called wëtau lugor, or in a large size trugulilugor. To make one of these, a leaf is split. The halves are laid with the trimmed half midribs on each side. The leaflets are plaited together in check, and their tips joined in a braid, which is finished off with a knot. This results in a flat sheet, which is folded over to hold sennit fiber for making rope. As the ends are left open, it is really a folder rather than a basket. A basket of similar construction, but with the plaiting continued around the ends to close or partly close them, is called wetau ruk (Truk basket). A round basket with a long braided handle, called gato, is used to carry food bowls. This type is illustrated in Plate I of Damm's report. The commonest type of finer basket, made of cured and doubled leaf, is called wétau tuk (see Pl. 3, d). Each side is made of two half leaves, with their half-midribs trimmed down to very thin strips. Alternate leaflets of each are first plaited to form a rim.

1: Burrows--32-33 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 285 Ifalik

After one row, the two leaflets are plaited together in twill to form one side of the basket. The plaiting is only a few rows wide at the ends, at least twice that in the middle, giving the rim its characteristic convex shape. The other side is made in the same way. Then the two are joined by a braid that forms the bottom of the basket. Ends of doubled leaflet project from the braid, forming a fringe. A basket of generally similar construction, but more nearly circular, with the curved rim continued around both ends, is called aurūel. It is attributed to Yap. Both of these types may be of recent introduction. At any rate, Damm's illustration shows three variants of another type, similarly plaited in twill with doubled leaflets, but of a different shape. It does not show any with the convex brims now in fashion."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 535 Ifalik

"Half a coconut leaf, tied about the waist over the loin-cloth, forms part of a man's costume when he is dressed to take part in a dance. For most of these ornamental kilts, freshly cut green leaf is used. A few prefer brown, withered leaves."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"Young coconut leaves, before they open out, are prized for their color, which ranges from ivory to pale greenish yellow. Ornaments for the ankles, wrists, upper arms, neck and head, and bandoliers slung over one shoulder, are made of this nearly white young leaf (ubwut). There are many ways of tying the leaf to make the pointed ends stick out attractively. It may also be cut into zigzag or lacy patterns.

A man will put on a bit of this leaf when he turns out for any communal task, such as repairing a canoe-house. It appears in greatest profusion on men adorned for the dance. Women are not forbidden to wear it, but it is rarely seen on them. On Ifalik it is the males who wear the bright plumage."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784 Ifalik

"Coconut leaves, commonly including some live ones from sprouted nuts, may be tied and twisted together around any area where trespassers are not wanted. These barriers are flimsy. There is no attempt to make effective fences of them. Their use is symbolic; they are recognized as tabu signs. Another symbolic use is waving a coconut leaf over the patient in several of the little healing rituals that accompany administration of medicines."

1: Burrows--33 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 372 Ifalik

"Dried coconut leaves are used as torches, especially in night fishing. Other uses of the leaves in fishing will be described later."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 245 Ifalik

"Bright young coconut leaf is often a symbol of success. A fishing party that has had exceptional luck may celebrate, and announce the good news, by putting on ubwût as the canoe nears home. A man who has won the right to the title of sea-captain (palû) by successfully completing an inter-island voyage, may wear ubwût ornaments as insignia of his new distinction."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 245 Ifalik

"Finally this young leaf may be an agent of supernatural power. Part of the ritual for a canoe about to set off on a long voyage is to sweep off the hull with ubwūt, wave it over both ends, then fasten pieces of it to the end posts. This is to keep off misfortune. On shore, squares of mat about 18 inches across are plaited of it, taken to the house of the great gods to be blessed or endowed with power, then hung on branches all about the shore. They are supposed to keep evil sea-spirits from landing."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 322 Ifalik

"Coconut wood varies in quality from a hard, dense layer on the outside of the trunk to a comparatively pithy center. The wood rots rather quickly when exposed to moisture. For this reason none of it is used in canoes, and coconut trunks are not set in the ground as posts for houses except when nothing better is available. They are then put over a fire and scorched to harden them, but even so are said to last only a year or two.

Under a roof and clear of the ground, coconut wood escapes this disadvantage. It is in general use for the beams that form the superstructure of a house. Where thin, elastic strips are needed, the hard outer layer makes excellent material. So coconut is considered the best of wood for thatch rafters. The same qualities make it the only wood used for fish spears (kowai). On Ifalik these are not light lances but heavy pikes 15 to 20 feet long. They have simple points without barbs. They are used mainly in a bonito drive when the school of fish is not considered large enough to drive ashore."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 245 Ifalik

"The stout midribs of coconut leaves are laid crosswise in the path of a canoe being hauled to or from the canoe-house. As this green midrib does not burn readily, it also makes a good rack for smoking fish. Its perfectly straight grain adapts it to still other uses. A strip of it makes a flexible ruler, for measuring and drawing lines on the curved surface of a canoe hull during its construction. Smaller strips peeled off the surface make thongs for tying thatch to a roof. A strip thin as a thread, formed into a loop and held between a woman's fingers, is used to split pandanus leaf into strips of even width to make a mat or fine basket."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 245 Ifalik

"Dry brown leaf makes kindling and fuel--for Ifalik, though well wooded, has such a small area that firewood is scarce. A bonfire of dry coconut leaf will illuminate a night gathering. Bundles of it make torches used in several kinds of night fishing."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 524, 245 Ifalik

"Children use coconut leaflet midrib for some of their toys. A big bread-fruit leaf, stiffened here and there by weaving strips of leaflet midrib in and out, along and across, makes a perfectly good kite. Other toys are made in the same way. Tiny coconuts, the size of a small child's fist, are fitted with a strip of leaflet midrib for a stem, and spun as tops."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 245 Ifalik

"Tied around a wooden handle, strips of leaflet midrib become broomstraws."

1: Burrows--34 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 245 Ifalik

"The slender leaflet midribs (logto) some 1/8 inch in diameter, where the midrib of the whole leaf is several inches--are useful where lightness and flexibility are necessary. On a frame of stiffer withes, lengths of leaflet midrib are lashed criss-cross to make a fish trap (ul pam) of the smaller size. These are set on the bottom in shallow water, weighted down with sand and baited with crushed crabs, to catch small fish."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the principal starchy food, when it is bearing. Its wood is also the most in demand for timber. In season, breadfruit makes up more of the bulk of the diet than anything else. Its main season is the rag, the time of prevailing westerly winds, approximately June to November. The crop reaches it height about July, then dwindles until by November there is very little. A second but smaller crop comes in the trade-wind season. During our stay, breadfruit seemed to be coming in again in January. Mai vae made up most or all of it. We were told that it would have come earlier but for two near-hurricanes, one in November and the other late in December, that destroyed much of the young fruit."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 415 Ifalik

"Still other parts of the coconut tree are useful. The clothlike fabric (*u̍lu* or *u̍lu̍lu*) that grows about the base of the leaves makes a strainer for toddy or medicine. Mothers make water-droppers of it for their babies. Folding a piece into the shape of a funnel, they put some fragrant herb into it, then dip it in water, hold it over the baby's mouth, and let the water drop in. Some of the herbs used for this purpose are listed on p. 43 (this ms.).

A dry fruit stalk makes a crude broom, when one of the better brooms of leaflet midrib tied to a handle is not available. Dry flower spathes, while less used for torches than in some Pacific islands, occasionally serve for fire-brands or kindling."

1: Burrows--35 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 245, 105 Ifalik

"We have seen that the coconut is meat and drink to the people of Ifalik; supplies most of the material for their houses; provides the cordage used to hold all composite wooden articles together; makes baskets, mats, fuel, and has a multitude of other uses, even acting as a symbol and agent of supernatural power. The list above does not pretend to be complete. Whether human life could be sustained on such an atoll without this plant is open to question. If it could, it would have to be a radically different life from that which the people lead there now."

1: Burrows--35-36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 251 Ifalik

"Breadfruit is the only food preserved for any great length of time. (Bonito are smoked, but only to keep them until they can be eaten, which takes two weeks or so with a big catch.) At the height of its bearing season there is more breadfruit than the people can eat. Every household preserves some of the surplus.

The fruit is cut up, mashed with coral pounders, and put into a net made for the purpose (trou li mare). When the net is full it is wrapped up, fastened, and carried--making, in most households, a load for three or four men--into the lagoon. There it is weighted down with blocks of coral and left overnight. In the morning it is brought ashore and put into a pit lined with leaves. After one night there the pit is opened and some of the breadfruit eaten at once. (We foreigners found this mashed and salted breadfruit about the most palatable form of all.) Next, the breadfruit is put back into the pits for the long wait. The pits are lined with big [36] glossy leaves of gul (Barringtonia asiatica). The breadfruit is wrapped up in separate lumps, most of them about half the size of a loaf of bread. The pit is filled with these breadfruit-leaf packages. When it is full, it is covered over with coconut leaves, and these are weighted down with coral. Laid down in this way, mare, as it is called, is said to keep for several years. During the time when there is no fresh breadfruit to be had mare is taken out now and then to vary the daily diet of taro. At this stage it has a penetrating and, to Americans, most offensive smell. But the natives seem to like it no less than their other starchy foods."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 381, 245 Ifalik

"Breadfruit sap makes a gum (bwIlIs) used to glue the joints between canoe planks. This is collected by slashing the bark of the tree in several places and, after gum has gathered on the wound, scraping it off with a knife. The day after collecting, it is washed in salt water and bits of bark and other foreign matter taken out. Then it is soaked in fresh water for several days and kept in a bottle.

Breadfruit gum is also the source of the soot used in tattooing. It is burned, and the soot collected on a smooth surface held over the fire. The surface used in recent times has been that of 'Yap bottles', --huge glass carboys from Japan. The soot is scraped off the glass on a breadfruit leaf, then put into a coconut half-shell and mixed with a little water until ready for use. (As tattooing was no longer practised on Ifalik at the time of our stay, this is a past rather than present use of breadfruit, --yet so recent that the process was fresh in memory, at least among the older people.)"

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 396, 245 Ifalik

"The yellow wood of the breadfruit is light, soft, and easily worked, yet does not split easily and is said to be very durable. It constitutes the underbody of nearly all canoe hulls (I saw one small underbody of the tougher ragues (Calophyllum inophyllum), a favorite in high islands.) Breadfruit wood is also used for all canoe planks and outrigger floats. Only smaller parts subject to special strain, like end posts, outrigger booms, and the sticks and braces of the outrigger attachments, are made of harder and heavier wood."

1: Burrows--36 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 262, 462 Ifalik

"Taro is the staple starchy food of the trade-wind season, as breadfruit is of the season of westerly winds. This is not because more taro is available at one time than another--it can be harvested at any time--but because it is used most when breadfruit is scarce.

The limiting factor to the supply of taro on Ifalik is labor. The big swamp on Falālap has been planted to taro from time immemorial. More grows there now than can be eaten or taken care of, --especially since the laborious work of weeding and fertilizing it is left entirely to women."

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48). Woleaians
116, 167, 262 Ifalik

"During the war many Woleai people came to Ifalik because the Japanese were using Woleai for an airfield, which not only crowded the natives but subjected them to American bombing. Our interpreter put the number who came to Ifalik at 375. Even if we discount liberally--for his figures could never be trusted--it seems likely that the population of Ifalik was at least doubled then, rather suddenly. Tom assured us that there was plenty of taro for all, and plenty left over; and on information of that kind he was generally dependable."

1: Burrows--37 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 824 Ifalik

"If we may use the word taro for a moment in a broader sense than the botanists would approve, there are three main types on Ifalik. The one that should not be called taro is the giant arum (filē; Alocasia macrorrhiza) sometimes called in English by the Polynesian name kape. A second is the coarse yellow-fleshed pulaka (pulax, Cyrtosperma chamissonis) grown on atolls far and wide over the Pacific, commonly in artificial pits. The third is true taro, of the type favored on high islands (wot, Colocasia esculenta). This is smaller than the other two, and its leaves are rounded where theirs come to three points. Its flesh is finer-grained, gray in color with a purplish cast.

The giant arum of filē is less exacting in the matter of soil than the others. It grows rankly about the edges of water-holes or, apparently, whereever it can get plenty of moisture from below. Though the natives plant it and weed around it, they eat it much less than the others. (Tom said this was a matter of individual taste, and possibly we did not happen to observe households particularly fond of filē.) Two reasons were given for this. One is that not all women know how to prepare filē properly. A good deal of the outside must be taken off, for one thing. If it is not properly prepared the minute spicules in it will bite the tongue and throat. The other reason is that 'If a man eats filē, he won't catch any fish.'

Pulax is the type grown in greatest quantity in the Falālāp taro swamp (nibwel--to distinguish from niwel, which means forest or 'bush'.) Everybody on either island has a hereditary right to share in at least one patch in this swamp.

Wot is grown in smallest quantity, apparently because it requires most cultivation. Though highly esteemed, it does not seem to be preferred to pulax to any such extent as on high islands, where pulax may be considered fit only for areas where nothing better will grow. Young leaves of wot, tenderer than those of pulax and filē, are chopped up, stripped of their ribs and cooked for greens."

1; Burrows--37-38 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 462

"The cultivation of taro (geligeli) is exclusively women's work. It is done either singly or in small groups, such as mother and daughter. Clearing ground to prepare a new patch for planting would require more labor. Presumably, men would be called in for this; but as there is more land in taro than can be used, new patches are hardly ever cleared nowadays.

After planting, the main task is to cut and pull the weeds which threaten to choke out the small plants. A creeping grass whose roots run underground (buyol; Lepturus repens). seems to be the most troublesome. This is where wot needs more care; because it is smaller, for one thing. In places pulax grows eight feet high or more, and the plants crowd so thickly together that one walks under them in twilight. There the weeds are effectively shaded out. [38]

The weeds pulled are usually converted at once into green manure or compost by burying them between the rows of taro. Lagajorang, who gave us a demonstration of the wot planting, first dug a pit about 10 feet long, 3 feet wide and two feet deep. This she did in a surprisingly short time, working with her bare hands in the soft muck. Then she pulled grass and weeds along a neighboring row, laid this in the pit, and covered it over. Finally she brought young wot plants, about a foot long (baulax) from a patch nearby, where they had sprung up from suckers around a parent plant. These she stuck into the bed just prepared, pressing the earth well down and leaving a slight depression about each plant, presumably to hold water."

1: Burrows--38
116, 241

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A working day in the taro patch lasts from soon after daybreak until about noon. If a woman gets thirsty at her work, she may pause to drink a coconut; but must leave the taro patch to do it. If she were to drink on the patch, the plants would not grow.

The women are perfectly aware of the fertilizing effect of burying weeds under the plants. This, with an idealized view of a gardener's enthusiasm for her work, comes out in one of their songs:

Lovemaking would keep me from my garden.
I like to go there every day.
I don't like to waste time sleeping;
I like to see my taro grow tall.
I heap earth around the wot plants,
Bury leaves all about the wot,
To make it grow faster."

1: Burrows--38-39 (1947-48) Woleaians
~~116,~~ 252 Ifalik

"Out of just three ingredients--taro, coconut cream, and fresh coconut toddy--the women prepare a considerable variety of dishes. Those that follow were noted down from gifts brought to us, and do not exhaust the resources of native cookery:

arongiumat-mashed taro with raw coconut cream

aronguvis-whole taro cooked in coconut cream

maigogo-mashed taro, cooked in coconut cream long enough to form a brown crust

malegefale-)
pulax vauvau-) big pieces, soaked for a long time in toddy before cooking. (These seem to be two names for the same preparation; at any rate, if there is a difference, it was not noted.)

pélopél-mashed taro, cooked with coconut cream, put in a bowl and moulded in little square mounds, the hollows between these filled by pouring in toddy.

1: Burrows--38-39
116, 252

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
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[39]shéwoshū-taro mashed, mixed with coconut cream and toddy, cooked long so that a brown crust forms on top.

(name not learned)-taro cut in small pieces and cooked in coconut cream without mashing. Varieties of rather open texture, among them pulax i sali and annIpenni, lend themselves better to this preparation than the gummier kinds favored for the preceding one.

(name not learned)-taro mashed and cooked with cream and grated coconut meat."

1: Burrows -39 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 241, 824 Ifalik

"Though bananas (*wir*) bear well, and the fruit of some of the varieties seemed to us of excellent quality, the people have a rather low opinion of them as food. They are sometimes eaten, either raw or cooked; but do not compare in importance with breadfruit or taro.

The number of other plants used for food is considerable, but none of them, nor even all taken together, make up an important part of the diet. Arrowroot (*mogmog*; *Tacca leontopetaloides*) grows wild under the breadfruit trees. The people know how to make starch (*mwisi*) out of the roots but rarely take the trouble to do so. We never saw the process or any of the product. Sugar-cane (*wou*; *Saccharum officinarum*) is planted on or near house platforms. Children, and more rarely adults, enjoy chewing a piece of the stalk. But one or two clumps are enough for a household.

A plant said to become important in case of famine following a hurricane is *gop* (*Portulaca samoensis*). The tiny succulent leaves are washed in sea water, then boiled in fresh water, then crushed with the coral pounder and mixed with coconut cream.

Several plants of European introduction are grown to some extent: squash (a summer squash or marrow), papaia, pineapple. The squash and papaya plants are common, but bear very little, and that of miserable quality. Pineapples are very scarce. I can not recall seeing a plant on the island, but we were offered one fruit, quite a good one.

Fruits of several native trees are eaten, but not especially prized. Those named to me were *avūs* (*Crataeva speciosa*) and *song* (*Bruguiera conjugata*). The nuts of *kazās*

(Terminalia catappa?) are enjoyed by small boys enough to induce them to crush the thick, fibrous hulls.

Young leaves from the tips of the branches of a full-sized tree, the aroma (Pipturus argenteus) are said to make edible greens if boiled, mashed, and mixed with toddy and coconut cream."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"The first step in weaving is to set up the warp. This is done on a set of seven pegs stuck in holes on a board about 3 feet long. The pegs project from the board about 8 inches. The order in which fibers of different colors are wound on the pegs determines the succession of longitudinal stripes in the cloth, and the number of turns taken of each color determines the width of each stripe. On every other turn a short separate piece of fiber is passed about the warp and then tied in a small loop or leash around one of the pegs. This procedure is shown in Fig. 4.

The warp thus prepared is then transferred to the loom. The construction of this is shown in Fig. 3.

The weaver sits facing the frame, with her feet braced against it. She fastens the belt about her back, and by leaning back on it keeps the warp taut. The weft is wound on a shuttle shaped like the netting-needles used in making seines. Successive weft fibers are pressed together with a sword. Fringes are left at each end of the piece of cloth. The weaving is entirely in simple check, and the only color patterns woven in are longitudinal stripes. Transverse borders are often embroidered with a needle near each end. The patterns on these include checks, triangles, diamonds, zigzag, lines, herringbone stripes, and a variety of other rectilinear figures."

l: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 241 Ifalik

"Though the fruit of bananas is not esteemed, the fiber of the trunk is in great demand for weaving native cloth. Women remove the green outer layer, then peel off in thin strips the fiber of which most of the trunk is composed. They hang it in the sun for two or three days, soak it in salt water for four or five days, then hang it out again for a period that varies from five to ten days, depending on the sunshine. Then they split it to the width desired. Most of the cloths ran between 20 and 30 wefts to the inch. The fibers are not spun, but woven flat.

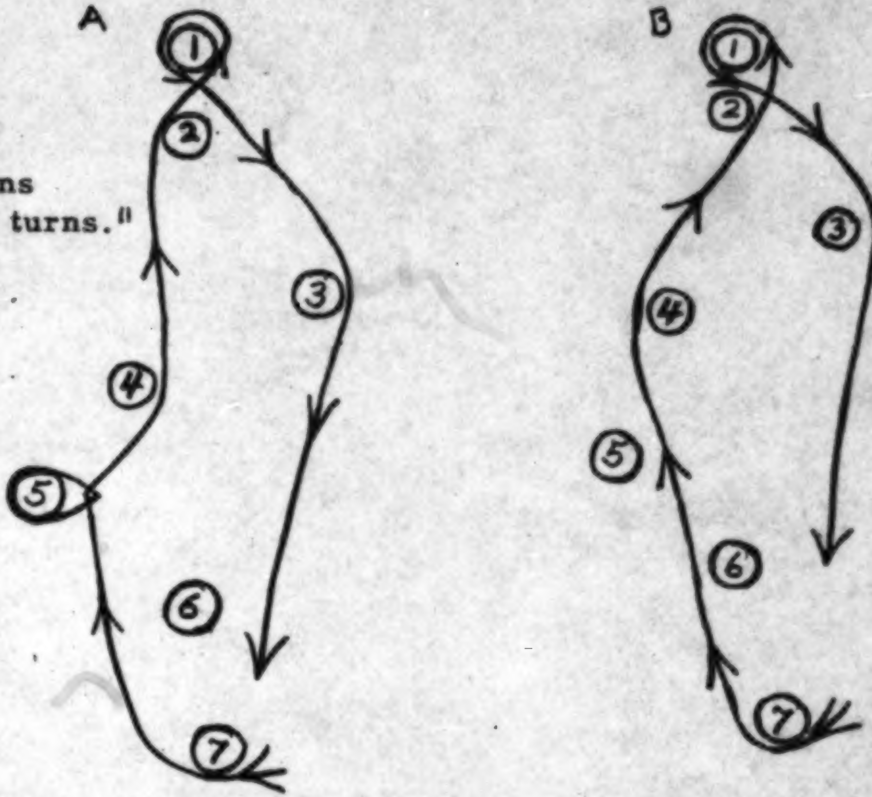
The bast of hau (gilivō; Hibiscus tiliaceus) is also used for weaving, but is considered inferior to banana fiber. Of the many uses to which this species of Hibiscus is put elsewhere in the Pacific, the only ones customary on Ifalik are for weaving and formerly, we were told, for fishing-lines. The plant is not abundant and does not grow to great size, perhaps because the women cut most of the shoots young. To prepare the bast for weaving, they scrape off the outer bark and soak the sticks in salt water, weighted down with coral, for four days. Then they strip off the bast, hang it in the sun to bleach and dry, and split it into wefts, most of them a little coarser than those of banana fiber. They are said to be good for women's skirts, but too stiff for men's loin cloths."

1: Burrows--40 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 386, 241 Ifalik

"Whichever plant [KS: banana or hibiscus] is used, some of the fibers are soaked in dye before weaving. Nearly all the dye in use in 1947-8 had been bought from the Japanese. Two native dyes are still remembered, though now rarely or never used. One is a black, obtained from a porous, floating mineral that sometimes drifts to Ifalik. It is ground into water by rubbing on a piece of iron. The other native dye is a red, made by mixing coral lime and lel bark in water. Turmeric paint, though not used to dye fibers before weaving, may be rubbed over finished cloth."

"Fig. 2. -Setting up the warp:

A, first and odd numbered turns
B, second and even-numbered turns."


A
1
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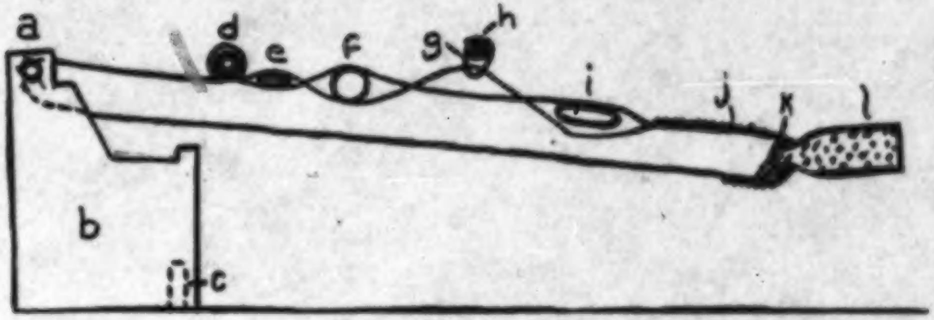
1: Burrows--40-B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286 Ifalik

"Fig. 3. -Diagram showing construction of loom:



A, warp beam; b, frame (wijalo); baseboard (pap), used as brace for weaver's feet; d, round laze rod (ulut); e, flat laze rod (tiwe); f, shed stick (tepang); g, leash; h, heddle rod (ngeng); i, sword (apop); j, finished fabric; k, cloth beam; l, belt (tali). "

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285 Ifalik

"Sleeping mats are plaited from the leaves [KS: of the pandanus] of the variety which is called simply by the generic name *far*. The leaves are first laid out in the sun until thoroughly dry. They may then either be used as they are, or bleached by soaking in salt water, rinsing in fresh water, and sunning again.

The leaves are split to the desired width by pulling between the fibers a small loop of coconut leaf midrib attached to the right index finger. These strips are then plaited in simple check. The technique gives the mat a double thickness. Mats of plain color, the light brown of the unbleached leaf, are called *faulap*. The wefts used for this are about 3/8" wide. The other kind, the most prized, is called *giegie*. The name emphasizes their whiteness, as shown by the fact that *giegie* is also the name for the snowy-white fairytern. *Giegie* mats are made largely of sun-bleached leaf; but some wefts of unbleached brown leaf are commonly introduced to make simple, rather widely spaced plaid designs. The wefts of *giegie* are somewhat narrower than those of *faulap*. Those observed varied from about 1/4" to 1/8", averaging about 3/16". A small strip of matting of this kind is shown in Damm's Plate 2, No. 60.

Bleached pandanus leaf is also used for the smallest and finest baskets, in which men keep their flint-and-steel or tobacco. These average less than six inches in their longest dimension. One collected is 4 1/2" X 1 1/2"X1". They are plaited in check over wooded blocks that serve as forms. They are made in several shapes. One, like a little pouch,

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 285 Ifalik

is called geigas; another, a miniature box with fitted cover, sigurăr. Damm (Plates I, II) shows one of these; also several larger pandanus baskets. The plaiting is similar, but in one the rim is bound with a fine cord, presumably of sinnet, while two have long braided handles. Such large pandanus baskets are not common now on Ifalik. The only one I remember seeing was given to Spiro as a farewell present."

l: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Wolcaians
116, 262 Ifalik

"Pandanus fruit is not eaten on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 292 Ifalik

"Either *far* or *far en Nuta* may be used for hats of flaring conical shape, which are sometimes used by men while fishing. These are called *trelivar*. Another name, *parong*, is used only among men. It refers to the under side of the penis, where the edge of the glans has an outline resembling the shape of these hats. A light hoop of *gabwī* wood forms the rim. To this are attached strips of coconut leaflet midrib which form ribs. They are gathered together in a point at the top. Pandanus leaves, whole except for trimmed edges, are laid vertically over this frame, overlapping and sewed on with horizontal seams of fine sennit cord. A band of the leaf, finely plaited like one of the small baskets, holds the leaves together at the top."

1::Burrows--41 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 285, 396 Ifalik

"Leaves of the variety of pandanus called far en Nuta, cured but not bleached, are used for sails. Matting for sails is plaited in strips about a foot wide. These are sewed together with sinnet cord, using stitches several inches long. Seams are run both vertically and horizontally. The advantage of making the sail in strips is that it usually limits tearing to one strip. Thus a torn place can be repaired by replacing a single strip of matting."

1: Burrows--41-42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 313 Ifalik

"The huge glossy leaves of the variety of pandanus called *pogū* are said to be worthless for plaiting. They are used only to tie about the trunks of [42] coconut trees, making a band whose slippery surface is said to keep rats from climbing the trees and eating the young nuts. This device is little used on Ifalik. No bands of *pogū* were seen there, though the practise is referred to in a song. But a walk about Satawan during our few hours ashore there revealed many trees with these pandanus bands about them."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 137, 824
1-2

" Native Timber Trees

Names of other trees used for timber, with more specific notes on the uses, follow:

aro-Straight shoots used for palings on house walls, or slats on canoe platforms; saplings used for canoe poles; large trunks for house posts.

gaingei-Proverbially strong. Used for some of the small pieces of canoe outrigger attachment. A favorite for levers, poles, walking sticks.

kelau, *kalua*-First choice for house posts. Said to be very durable in the ground.

kili-A small tree. The tough wood is used for canoe paddles and smaller house timbers.

lel-House timber.

mog-House timber.

ragēs-(Also called *sevāng* and *vitou*) canoe end-posts and outrigger booms.

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 137, 824 Ifalik

sol-House timber.

treli-a hard wood with various uses; its forks favored for the forked sticks attaching outrigger floats to booms.

wutu-House timber.

tria-Hard, straight-grained wood used to make men's combs."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322 Ifalik

"Pandanus trunks, like those of coconut, have an outer shell of very hard wood and a comparatively pithy interior. This tubular structure may make them strong for their weight; at any rate, they are favored for certain house timbers where both strength and lightness are wanted, such as king-posts and supports for the overhanging rounded end of roofs. Strips cut from the hard shell alone are put to a few uses for which thickness is not required, --for example, slats to form the floor of canoe platforms. To judge by this use, pandanus wood will stand salt water better than that of coconut."

1: Burrows--42 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301 Ifalik

"The fragrant petals of the pandanus flower, fastened together so that their pointed ends project like a crown, form a particularly effective garland for the head."

1: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276 Ifalik

"Two kinds of pepper plant (gabwi) grow on the island. One of them is said to be the right kind (piper betle) to chew with betel nut. There are a very few, perhaps a half dozen, small betel palms (Areca catechu) on the island. But chewing betel is not a local custom. The other kind of pepper is not used as a drug, so far as is known.

The natives are fond, perhaps overfond, of tobacco. A few plants are coaxed up through the coral gravel on house platforms, but nearly all the tobacco is imported. Even neighboring atolls, as Faraulep and Ngulu, export 'Caroline smoke' to Ifalik."

1: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 278, 824 Ifalik
1-2

"The following list of plants used for medicine was obtained during the general survey of plants and their uses. Many remedies are hereditary secrets, so the list is certainly not complete. As will appear in the list of rituals seen (p. 184-6), the main emphasis is not on herbal remedies, but on getting supernatural help.

angorIk-aromatic herb, put in medicine ritually prepared, blessed by the gods, and drunk as a preventive. Also considered healthful in drinking water for babies.

aro-a green leafy branch is waved over the medicine as part of the ritual, dipped in the bowl, and used to sprinkle these who are taking part.

bwogorewau-an aromatic sedge that grows in the taro swamp. Said to be very good for the stomach, if taken in coconut juice. Used in babies' drinking water.

korax-Herb. Used medicinally; no details obtained.

livaltus-Tree. Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric, strained into water for babies to drink.

1: Burrows--43 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 278, 824 Ifalik

olu-Leaves wrapped in coconut fabric and soaked in water, which is then drunk to help stomach trouble and loss of appetite.

sol-Some men know (informant did not) how to make a medicine from this tree to cure a red eruption on the skin.

song-Bark scraped, put in coconut fabric and strained into water for babies to drink.

ualomax-A vine. Infusion of leaves drunk for stomach."

1: Burrows--43-44 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 302, 824 Ifalik 1-2

"Both men and women, but especially men, are fond of wearing flowers on the head, about the neck, or in the hole in the lobe of the ear. A few kinds such as the red hibiscus, are worn for color only; but fragrance seems to be even more prized.

angorlk-(turmeric) The crushed leaves are rubbed on the skin, hung in the ear-hole, or worn wherever they will hang. Especially fragrant when [44] partly dried. One of the plants beloved of the gods, which grows in the sky as well as on earth.

aro-This tree, whose leafy branches are used in ritual, has also a fragrant flower.

atogobwei-A vine. Lovers are said to rub the leaves on their necks to sweeten their embraces.

Flèrōs-(Red hibiscus). For color only.

gióp-(Spider lily). For form, color, and fragrance.

guruguru-Herb with aromatic root.

Kérriō-Bush with clusters of small flowers used in garlands.

1: Burrows--43-44 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 302, 824 Ifalik

raguēs-(also called geval and sevang) fragrant flower.

remag-(also called natu) Flowers worn in hair, or used for garlands.

seuru-(Plumeria) For color as well as fragrance.

waryng-An herb with aromatic leaves, grown on house platforms. The gods grow this in the sky.

wutu-The long-tubed white flowers of this tree are prized for their fragrance. This, too, grows in the sky."

1: Burrows--44-45 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 824 Ifalik

"Miscellaneous Uses of Plants

Leaves of two ferns are used for the scanty covering which young girls tuck under their belts before and behind. One of these, riri, is especially common about the base of coconut trees, and among the moss that covers some of their aerial roots. It is worn green. The other, ẻnẻnux, a bird's-nest fern, is cured in the sun before wearing.

Root fibers of two plants are used for fish lures. The root of the guan, after the outer layer is removed, is soaked in salt water, bleached in the sun, then split into narrow strips, which are tied to the shank of a fish hook. This lure, called uelueliōp, gleams in the water and is said to be very effective. The white fiber of a bunch grass or sedge called bogo li le pā is used in the same way.

The inner bark of the aroma tree is said to be so tough that fish can not bite through it. After being dried in the sun, it is sometimes attached to a hook as a leader.

The aerial roots of the gïliao, a banyan, are sometimes used for preliminary lashing on a canoe, before the permanent lashing of sennit cord is put on.

A dried moss is sometimes laid between the planks of a canoe. It is said to [45] decrease leaking. This was not done, however, in any of several canoes built during our stay on the island."

1: Burrows--45 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 824 Ifalik

"The following plants were dismissed as weeds ('blong nothing'):
atilt, a small herb.

buyol-The creeping grass which is the great pest of the taro swamp.

kamarag-Staghorn fern, apt to overrun the ground under the breadfruit trees.

Keisis-also kevakual. Small herbs.

talingilipat-mushroom or fungus--'Many kinds, one name'."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342 Ifalik

"Dwellings are built on Ifalik almost exclusively for shelter. They are hardly valued at all as works of art or means of displaying the prosperity of their owners. Consequently the only requirements for an ordinary house are a roof and walls that will keep out sun and rain, and a frame that will withstand a strong wind.

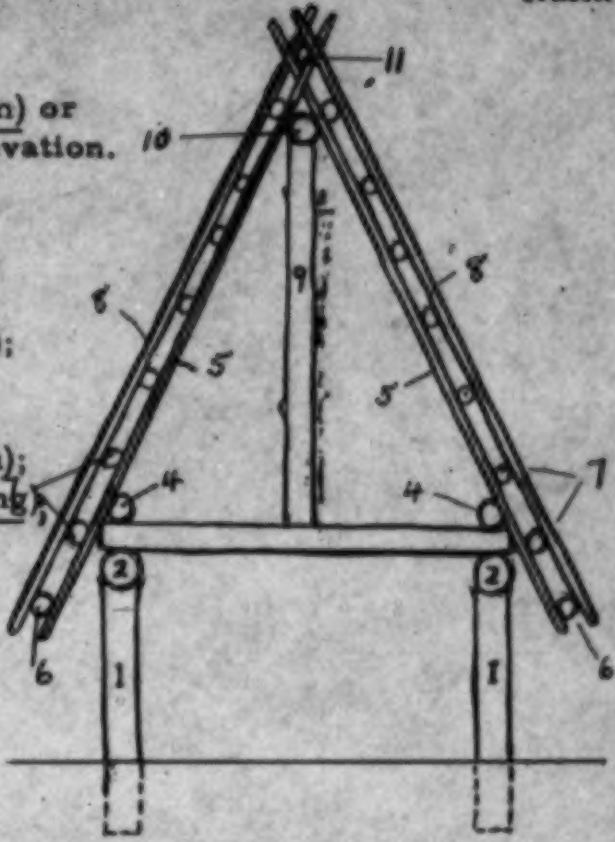
As befits the strictly utilitarian character of the craft, the position of house-carpenter is not especially honored. There is no formal, restricted lore of house-building, as there is of canoe-building, navigation, and tattooing. No myth was collected attributing the origin of this craft to the gods, though there are such myths for all three other crafts. Three songs were collected in praise of shipwrights; none in praise of house carpenters."

1: Burrows--46 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 342 Ifalik

"The term for master-craftsman, sennap, may be applied to builders of dwellings (sennap a l'im) and experts in repairing public buildings (sennap a li gasu van or sennap a li gatchu li fal). But there seems to be some doubt about who deserves these titles. Tom once said there were recognized master-builders; but later, when asked to name them, contradicted his previous statement. 'Everybody savvy', he explained. When the same question was put to the chief, Maroligar, he gave three names; then added 'I think, Totogoeiti (Tom's native name); and finally, when pressed--for he supervised repairs on public buildings in Rauau--admitted he was one himself. After further consideration, he said that three-Toroman, Maroligar and Totogoeiti--were big experts. Three others--Wolpetau, GauaisIg, Arovalimen--were less advanced. If Tom contradicted himself, Maroligar at least wavered."

"Fig. 4. -Construction of Ifalik dwelling (im) or canoe-house (fan ni wā); end elevation.

1, corner post (sur); 2, stringer (tareilap);
3, end tie-beam (kouram); 4, roof plate;
5, rafter (wou); 6, eave purlin (apux);
7, purlin (kapongax); 8, thatch rafter (wou);
9, king post (bwot); 10, main ridge pole (yng);
11, upper ridge pole."



1: Burrows--46-47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 342 Ifalik 1-2

"In practise, building an ordinary dwelling is a household undertaking, which any adult man may supervise. Building a canoe-house or men's house must be quite a rare event. None was put up during our stay, nor, so far as I learned, in the memory of anyone living. Several times particular timbers, which broke or were thought to be in danger of breaking, were replaced. In that way a building can be made to last indefinitely.

The indifference to house-building, as compared with other crafts, seems to reflect degeneration. Sarfert noticed in 1909 that painted decorations were to be found on only a few old house timbers, and inferred that houses had once been more elaborately decorated than they were at the time of his visit. The process has gone further since then. The rectilinear designs he found on a few timbers are not to be seen anywhere in Ifalik now, though something of the kind was noticed on the front of a shrine or god-house on Lamotrek.

More striking is the almost complete disappearance of what Damm, from Sarfert's notes, describes as the old type of house. It has squared timbers, which fit into each other and form a frame for panelled walls. To be sure, the account is somewhat confused; for instance, no names are given to correspond to some of the house parts numbered in a sketch, apparently redrawn from one by Sarfert. Yet some names of parts are given that differ from any I collected. Any gaps in detail do not obscure the general plan of the house, which seems to have been drawn from something Sarfert saw, not merely from something he was told of. The only building at all like it in 1947-48 was one

1: Burrows--46-47 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 177, 342 Ifalik

[47] of two occupied by Tom. Most of its timbers were of foreign sawed lumber. Walls of several buildings, including the men's house, were of lattice work, others of upright palings fitted into heavier beams. But the beams were unsquared logs, and the holes bored with foreign augers. In a few houses, however, the stringers are squared, as in Damm's 'old type'.

It seems probable that houses of hewn and fitted timbers were once more common than they are now. Yet timber can never have been abundant enough to make many of them. Most of the houses must always have been of a simpler type, presumably like the one that prevails now. This type is shown in Pl. 2a. Its structure is diagrammed in Fig. 11."

1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 285, 335 Ifalik

"Cook-sheds and canoe houses have no walls, but dwellings are almost completely walled in by panels of coconut leaf, plaited in twill. These can be unfastened and slid aside, making a door wherever one is wanted. They are called gili. The same name is used for the smaller of two sizes of sitting mat made to spread on the coral gravel of the floors. These gili are plaited from two halves of a leaf in the same way as thatch sheets. But the leaf is cured, the leaflets doubled before plaiting, and the plaiting carried nearly to their tips, then finished off in a braid. A wider floor-mat, called topoxau, is made more like a ridge sheet; but the two split halves are laid with their bits of midrib in the middle, and the two sides are finished with braids.

The most ingenious feature of construction, particularly in canoe-houses, is the rounded gable. A ridged roof, thatched only on two sides, is not enough to provide shelter in a wet country. Something must be done to keep rain from entering at the ends, when the wind blows in. The solution traditional in Ifalik is, first, to extend the ridge-pole at both ends, and slant the end rafters out to the ends of the ridge-pole, so that the peak of the roof overhangs; second, to build rounded extensions under the peak at both ends. These, covered with thatch, give the ends of the building as good protection from rain as the long sides. (Pl. 2a; Fig. 5)"

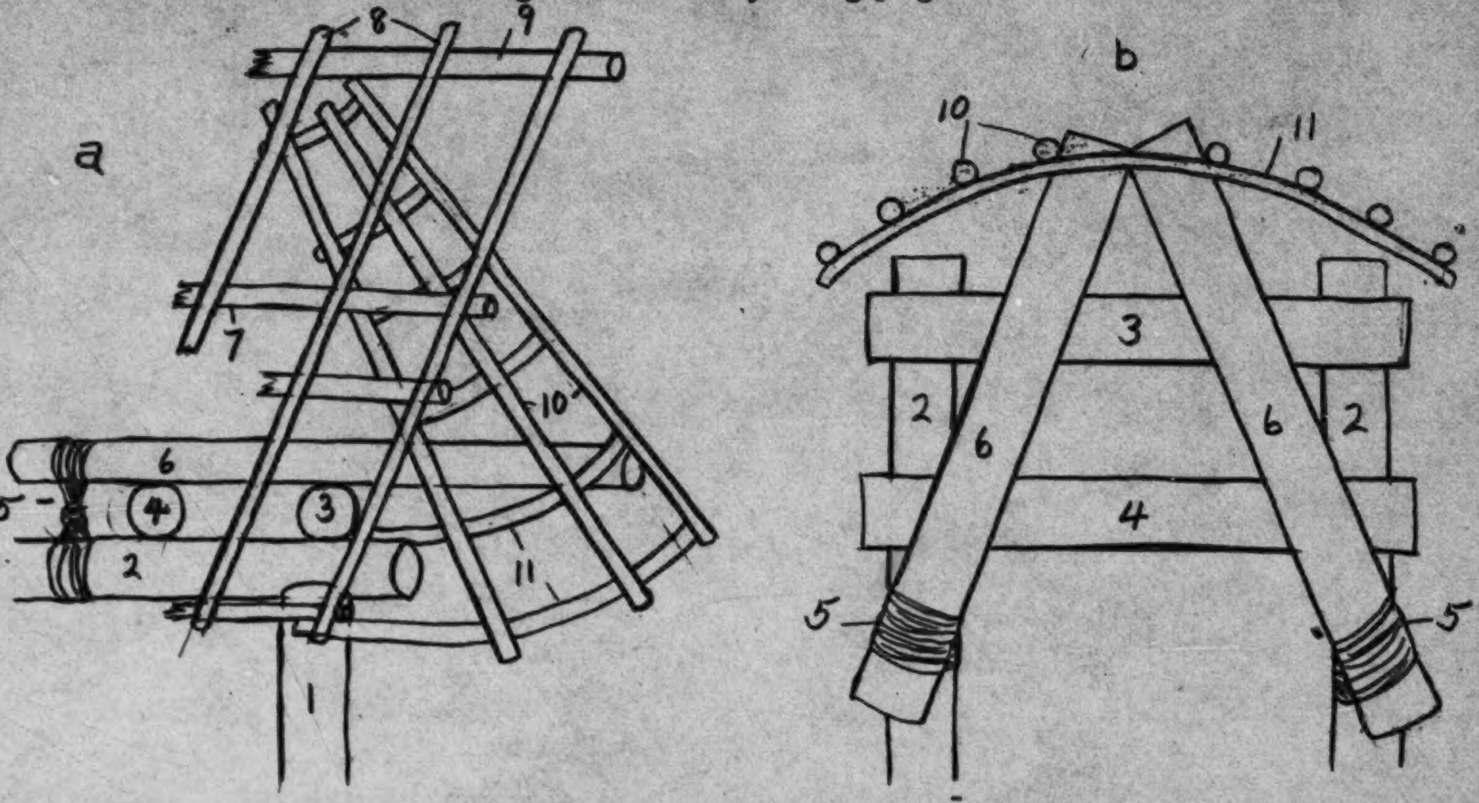
1: Burrows--47 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 342, 285, 335 Ifalik

"As already noted in enumerating the uses of coconut, the roofs of all buildings are covered with coconut-leaf thatch. This is not so durable as thatch of the leaves of pandanus, sugar-cane, or sago, all of which are used on native houses in some Pacific islands. But there is no sago on Ifalik, and not enough pandanus or sugar-cane to go around. When thatch of coconut-leaf begins to leak it can be replaced fairly easily.

To make thatch (aso) each leaf is split down the middle. Each half of the midrib is trimmed to lighten it. The two halves are laid together, with the half-midribs on the same side, and the leaflets plaited in simple check for about half their length. The thatch sheets so made are laid out in the sun for three or four days to begin drying, before they are put on. Some are more thoroughly sun-cured and are then called aso gili. In thatching a roof, the sheets are tied to the rafters, beginning at the eaves and working upwards. The lower side of each sheet hangs free, overlapping the sheet below. Special sheets are made for the ridge by using one leaf unsplit, and plaiting the halves of a split leaf on each side of it, with their half-midribs outward. This makes a ridge-sheet with a whole midrib along the middle, and a half-midrib along each edge."

1: Burrows--47-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 504 Ifalik 1-2

Fig. 5. -See adjoining page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1: Burrows--47-A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 343, 504 Ifalik

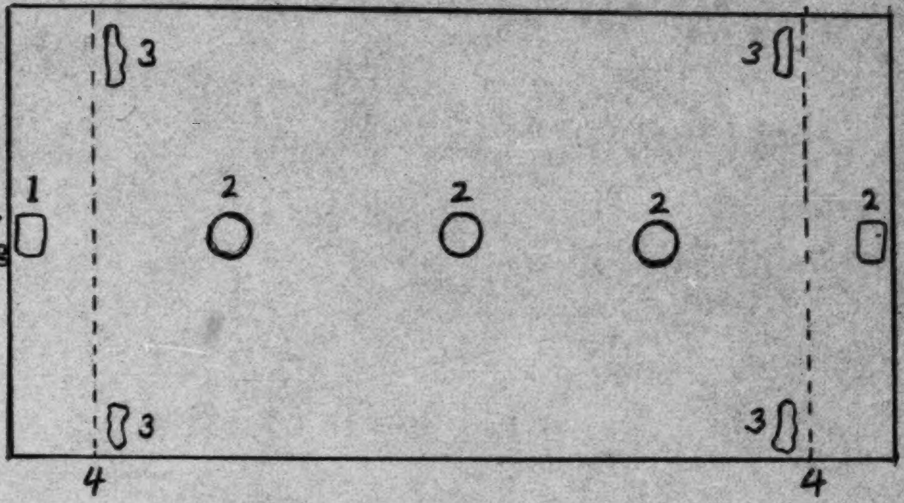
"Fig. 5. -How the projecting gable end of a canoe-house is supported without obstructing the space below, where canoes are hauled in and out.

a, side elevation. b. plan. 1, corner post; 2, stringer;
3, end tie-beam; 4, tie-beam (auten ni lalo); 5, lashing;
6, gable support (tilbweli); 7, purlins; 8, rafters;
9, ridge pole; 10, gable rafters; 11, curved gable purlins."

1: Burrows--47-B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 575

"Fig. 6. -Plan of men's house (fan nap).

1, front post (ongarIk);
2, middle posts (sur oungo), supporting ridge pole.
3, stone corner posts (sur perou).
4, vertical gable thatch, extending from height of eaves to peak."



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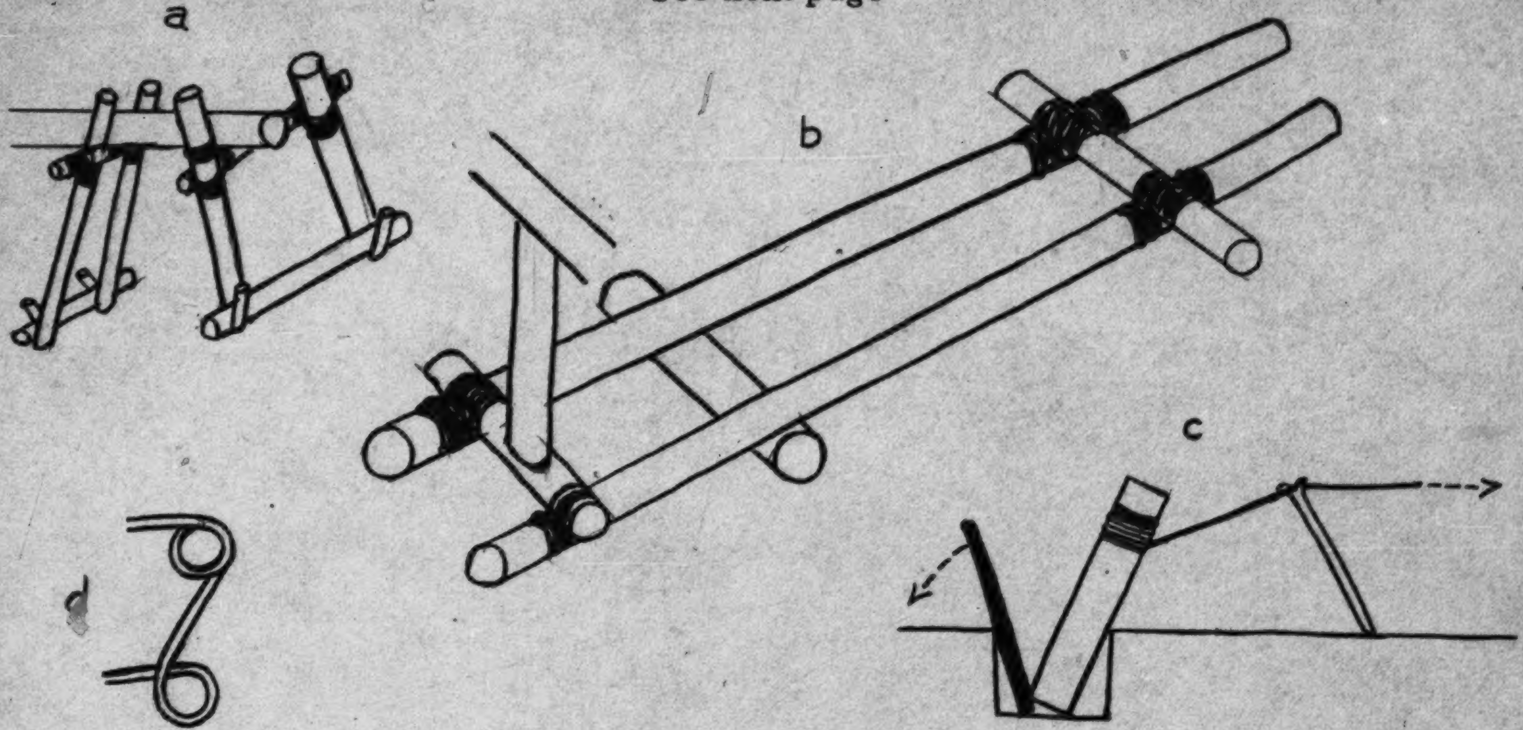
116, 343, 504 Ifalik 1-2

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house."
See next page



1: Burrows--47-C (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 343, 504

"Fig. 7. -Techniques used in replacing corner post of a canoe-house.

a, temporary supports of the stringer. (The rest of the roof, supported by the stringer, is not shown).

b, double lever for raising the roof.

c, removing the old corner post by means of hauling line and levers.

d, hauling line snubbed around two trees."

1: Burrows--47-48
116, 342, 335

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In a cook-shed or dwelling, the rounded end is supported by one or two small posts; commonly one in a cook-shed, two in a dwelling. In the most [48] carefully built dwellings, in which the stringers are hewn square (and in that case called goragu), the purlins under the rounded ends are also squared, and fitted to the stringers with overlapping joints."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 335, 401, 284 Ifalik

"In a canoe-house, however, the ends can not be obstructed with posts, for that would prevent carrying canoes in and out. The manner in thich [sic] the rounded gable is suspended, without supporting posts, is shown in Figure 5. In the first place, the whole structure is lightly built. The eave purlins are not squared beams, but light, flexible withes. Purlins and rafters of the rounded end are lashed to purlins and rafters of the long sides, which take up some of the weight. The rest is supported on two beams (numbered 6 in the figure). Their projecting ends converge under one of the purlins of the rounded extension. Their inner portions rest on tie beams, and the inner ends are fastened by a lashing of stout rope to the stringers below them. This lashing is not very massive, and apparently carries no great weight. It will be seen that both the extension of the peak of the roof, and the suspension of the gable on overhanging beams, involve application, though not in a very bold form, of the principle of the cantilever."

1: Burrows--48 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 335, 345, 532 Ifalik

"The construction of the men's house (fan nap) is shown in Figure 6. It has several distinctive features. The ridge-pole is supported, not by a king post resting on a tie-beam, but by a row of middle posts. The two posts under the ends of the ridge-pole are squared, and the one under the front end is decorated with paintings and a phallic carving (Pl. 4, a). The corner posts are slabs of beach sandstone. The gable ends are filled by vertical walls extending from the peak to the height of the eaves. These walls are covered with coconut leaf, applied in a different way from the thatch of a roof. The lower ends of the leaves are bound in with wooden battens, producing a flat, smooth surface, instead of the shaggy one of a thatched roof, in which the lower ends of the leaves hang free."

1: Burrows--48-49 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 175, 333 Ifalik 1-2

"Dann, in his account based on Sarfert's notes, attributes the introduction of men's houses on Ifalik to Fagil, a man from Yap. Fagil is said to have been shipwrecked on Ifalik during the regime of Dibodan or Dibodäu (recorded by me as Tipateu). On the list of chiefs he is only four earlier than Daoreligar, who was in power when Sarfert visited Ifalik in 1909. This would make men's houses a fairly recent innovation.

No story of Fagil was told to us in 1947-48. But recent introduction of men's houses is contradicted by several points in the legends we collected. The house Ilamai or Iramai which Damm gives as the dwelling built by Modj (recorded by me as Maur), was described to us as the men's house on Falālap in Maur's time. Though there is no longer a men's house on that island, the site of Iramai is still pointed out. Maur is also said to have made use of the men's house Katelū on Falārik. The site of the ancient Katelū was just inland from the present men's house, also called by that name. A general point that seems to corroborate the ascription of antiquity to men's houses is the fact that they are characteristic of the culture of the western Carolines as a whole. Their absence on Ifalik would be anomalous.

If only the type of construction peculiar to men's houses, with middle posts and stone corner posts, were attributed to Fagil, the discrepancy would disappear. [49]

Damm's story adds that the men's houses built by Fagil were on stone piers projecting into the lagoon. Such stone piers still exist on Ifalik. The men's house is not built on one of them, nor was it in Sarfert's day. He was told that a house on one of the piers had been destroyed in the typhoon of 1907. Rather flimsy houses stood on piers on Falārik and Falālap when we arrived. One was destroyed and the other partly so in the hardest blow during our stay. The two piers in Rauau district had no houses in 1947-48, but were said to have had them at some previous time."

1: Burrows--49-50 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 358, 483, 401, 335 Ifalik 1.3

"Although no large buildings were constructed during our stay, techniques of lifting massive timbers into position were exemplified by replacement of beams in two canoe-houses. In October a huge breadfruit log, more than two feet in diameter and sawed through at one end, drifted ashore from parts unknown. Such figts of the sea are the main source of supply for corner-posts of the canoe-houses. It was decided to use this one to replace a rotting post in the canoe-house called Fale Pĕngā.

First the log was rolled ashore. Poles or light logs were thrust under it on the landward side to serve as skids. Similar posts were used on the seaward side as levers.

The hole in which the old post stood was now widened by digging on the outer side. Temporary supports for the roof at this corner were lashed together and put in position. The type of support used is shown in Fig. 7, a. At first the upper ends of the two pairs of uprights slanted toward each other at a considerable angle, greater than that shown in the sketch.

A double lever (Fig. 7, b) was now made of coconut logs to hoist the roof. There was room enough for more than a dozen men to work on it at a time. Their efforts were coordinated by a responsive song or chantey. As the sketch shows, the lift was transmitted to the stringer of the house through a crosspiece and upright post.

The height gained by each lift of the lever was secured by moving the lower ends of the supports toward each other, making the uprights more nearly vertical. The crosspieces at the base, to prevent them from slipping out again, were then repegged in the new position. With the supports in position to take the weight of the roof, the lever was released and made ready for another lift by moving the fulcrum a little nearer the raising end. When the roof was high enough to give the necessary clearance to the corner posts, the supports were pegged in a final, nearly vertical position. They were then supplemented by a log cut to just the right length and set upright under the stringer a little in from the supports.

With the roof securely out of the way, the post to be replaced was removed. A heavy line, made up of six strands of the large size of sennit rope used for morring[sic] canoes, was fastened around its upper end. A fairly light pull on this was enough to topple the upper end of the post out from under the roof, so that its outer side rested against the side of the hole. It was then taken out of the hole by hauling on the line. This was the stage of the job requiring the greatest application of power. The haul on the line was supplemented by prying on levers thrust under the inside of the post (Fig. 4, c). At one time 39 men were hauling on the line. At the crucial moment some of [50] the women, who had been looking on and encouraging the workers, took a hand themselves. To prevent the post from slipping back while the workers paused for breath, the line was snubbed around two trees, passing from left to right around one of them, from right to left around the other (Fig. 7, d).

The new post, it now appeared, was a little longer than the old one. The hole for it was dug deeper, an easier task than cutting through the massive post again with axes

1: Burrows--49-50 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 358, 483, 401, 335 Ifalik

and hand saws. As the hole was deepened, it began to fill with water. The prospect of the water rotting the post at the bottom did not disturb anyone. When the hole had reached the necessary depth, one end of the new post was hauled into position over the hole. The other end was raised by the same techniques of prying on levers and hauling on a line that had served to remove the old one. The bottom of the post slid into the hole. It was then carefully lowered into the same position the old one had occupied. By holding the roof with the big lever while the bases of the supports were spread apart, a little at a time, the roof was gradually lowered back into position. The hole about the post was filled in and tamped. The temporary supports were removed, and the task was finished.

The whole process made nearly a full day's work for all the available men of Rauau district. It was done in the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next. Men were coming and going every now and then, so no one figure would give the number of workers accurately. The largest number actually busy at any one moment would be the 39 counted hauling on the line, plus three or four more with levers."

1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik 1-3

"Another repair job, requiring somewhat different techniques, became necessary in December, when the stringer that held up one side of the canoe-house Sabwōlap broke in two. Coconut logs, the only timber available for these long stringers, are not well adapted to the purpose. As their centers are rather pithy, the lateral stress imposed by the weight of the roof must be taken mostly by the thin shell of hard wood on the outside. Squared beams of a solider wood form the stringers of the men's house; but there are not enough logs of the necessary length to supply these for the canoe-houses.

In order to take out the broken stringer and replace it with another coconut log, it was necessary to raise one whole side of the roof. Accordingly, a row of temporary supports was required, instead of the pair that had sufficed for the corner-post replacement. But they were of lighter construction: pairs of light logs, crossed like an X, and held together with lashings at the top middle, and bottom (Fig. 8, a). Light logs, lashed under the rafters to take the weight of the roof while the stringer was being replaced, rested in the upper lashing of the X supports. The lower lashings helped to prevent spreading and settling. They were reinforced by pegs driven in at the base.

The roof was lifted, bit by bit, by means of a lever of coconut log. Since only part of the roof was raised at a time, a single log served for a lever, instead of the pair used on the corner-post job. The vertical post that transmitted the thrust of the lever to the roof rested at the bottom in a notch cut in this log. At the top it was lashed under one of the logs that temporarily supported the roof. The height gained by each lift was taken up by narrowing each of the X supports tightening their lashings, and shifting the pegs (Fig. 8,b). Elderly men and boys worked on the supports, while young men at the height of [51] their strength worked on the lever. Getting the roof tilted to the necessary height, by many repetitions of this process, took about half a day.

The new stringer was now lifted into position. First each end of it was lifted upon a post, which leaned against a pile of crossed logs about waist high (Fig. 8, c). Then the ends were lashed to these posts at the point which would bring the new stringer into position on top of the corner-posts when the supporting posts were vertical. Long, stout lines were attached at each end. The log was now raised into position, with all available men hauling on the lines. At first a few lifted by hand on the ends of the log. At the hardest part of the pull, women, too, took a hand on the lines.

By releasing the lashings gradually, the new stringer was settled into position on the corner posts. Then the roof was let down on it gradually by reversing the process used to lift it; that is, it was held with the lever while the X supports were widened, then let down into the new position.

The stress of tilting and lowering the roof was too much for a tie-beam that supported one of the king-posts. It broke just as the roof was being settled into place. Apparently this piece of hard luck was not altogether unexpected; at least the men took it with good-natured resignation. Another lifting and lowering job was now required in order to replace the tie-beam.

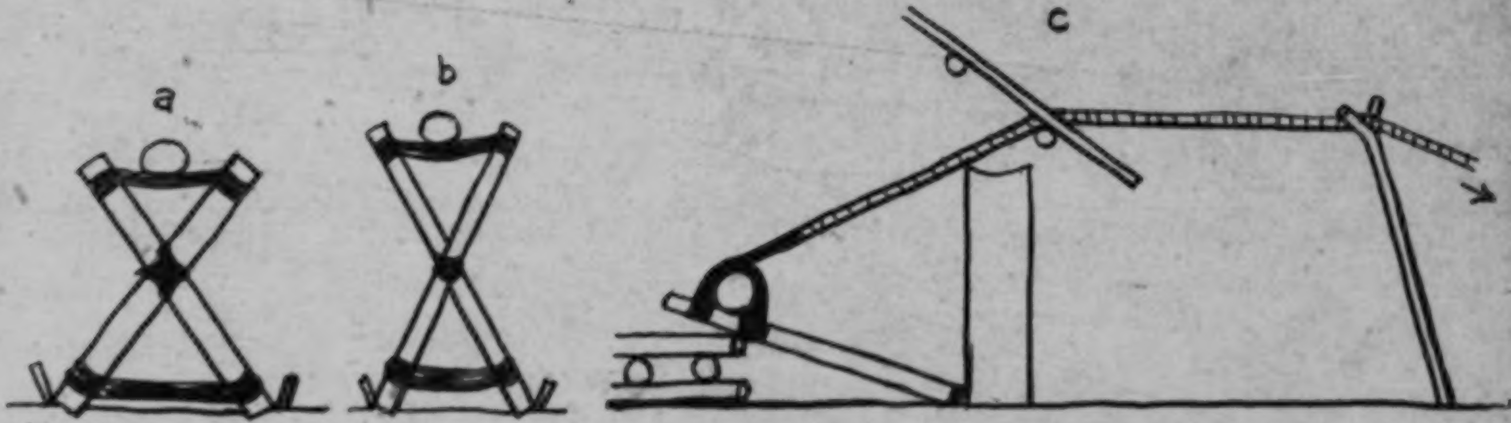
1: Burrows--50-51 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 358, 401, 483, 335 Ifalik

A log of pandanus, cut to reach exactly from the ground to the ridge-pole, was set up as a temporary substitute for the king-post. (This temporary structure was of the same type as that used permanently to support the ridge-pole of the men's house.) It was set up on a slant at first, then gradually raised into vertical position as the roof was lifted. This was done with levers and X supports, as before, except that a new type of lever was brought into use. A scaffold was built, consisting of four uprights, with crosspieces lashed to them at various heights. These cross-pieces served as fulcrums for the lever, higher ones being used as the roof gained height. Small supplementary levers were used part of the time. When the roof was raised clear, the new tie-beam was lifted into place by the same technique as that used for the stringer. The king post, a comparatively light piece, was passed up by hand to men standing on the tie-beam. Supplementary uprights were set up under the new tie-beam. These, and the temporary post holding up the ridge-pole, were left in place for several days, in case the new tie-beam was too weak for its load. When it proved to be adequate, the temporary supports were removed."

1: Burrows--51-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 504 Ifalik

"Fig. 8. -Techniques used in replacing stringer of a canoe-house.

a, X-support, of light logs, sennit lashing, and pegs.
b, X-support narrowed to gain height as roof is lifted.
c, method of lifting stringer into position on top of corner post."



1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 554 Ifalik

"A canoe, of all material possessions, brings most glory to its owner. And the building of canoes is beyond comparison the most highly developed craft in Ifalik. Anyone can build a little one; but the construction of that master-piece of Micronesian workmanship, a sea-going sailing canoe, requires the permission of the chiefs, and is entrusted only to recognized experts (sennap), who have learned their art by something like apprenticeship from another expert. During our stay, seven men were recognized as master-shipwrights. The honor accorded this title is exceeded by only two others: that of hereditary chief, and that of navigator (palū), who can pilot one of these canoes to other islands."

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 552, 501, 782 Ifalik

"Sailing canoes and large paddling canoes are given the names of tracts of land. Sarfert recorded an additional point, that these are the tracts on which grew the breadfruit tree that furnished the timber for the boat. Though I was not told this in detail, it fits what was told. The name of the sailing canoe built for Tom during our stay is Melegubwol, after a breadfruit grove just inland from the canoe-house where the vessel was built. Asked whether these names are supposed to have power to bring a canoe safe home from overseas, Tom said they are. Although he was sometimes over-eager to give an affirmative answer, this one is supported by a similar idea in a prayer, intoned to the god Soupalele when a canoe is casting off for an overseas voyage:

Lay the anchor in the woods!
Lay the anchor in the woods,
  O Soupalele!
Put my anchor in a huge tree in the interior!
Right in the middle,
The very middle of the land.
When my canoe goes,
Let me return to this land!"

1: Burrows--52 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 501 Ifalik

"Ifalik is said to be better supplied with canoes than any of the neighboring islands. The total number on the island in January, 1948, (not counting hulks considered no longer seaworthy), was 91, or one for every 2.7 persons in the population; surely a remarkable showing for a place that has so little large timber. Three sizes are recognized: large sailing canoes with platforms (wā verugIt, 'big canoe'); canoes of medium size with several thwarts for paddlers (wa fatôle, 'paddle canoe'), and canoes with only a single seat on the outrigger booms (rosemāni). Of the total of 91, 23 were sailing canoes, 21 medium-size paddling canoes, and 47 small rosemāni. * Sarfert recorded a different classification: wa li wuei, a large sailing canoe; manuwili, smaller sailing canoe for fishing; kafadule, paddling canoe for 4-5 men; djasemali (equivalent to rosemāni in his orthography), paddling canoe for 1 or 2; and fofat raft, a term I also collected."

"* The spelling of this word follows the attempt at phonemic orthography discussed in Appendix I. The commonest pronunciation is trojemān."

1: Burrows--52-53
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2

"In construction of hull and attachment of outrigger, canoes of all sizes are essentially alike. The small rosemāni have no thwarts except for the inboard portions of the two booms, while larger canoes have additional thwarts nearer each end. All canoes carry paddles (fatole) and wooden scoop-shaped bailers (mat). Paddling canoes are poled in shallow water. When not in use, the poles are laid over the booms just [53] outside the hull, and kept in place by sennit loops (taninga ni meinin) near each end. Wooden trays (tarong) rest on the booms just outside the hull, and are attached by lashing. They are used to carry small articles, which are more likely to stay dry there than inside the hull. In sailing canoes, these are replaced by large platforms (Fig. 7, d, e), not only on the outrigger side but on the lee side as well.

Large canoes conform in every respect but one--symmetry of the hull on Ifalik--to the 'flying proa' type described by Haddon and Hornell in 'Canoes of Oceania'* as characteristic of the western Carolines. Characteristics of that type which are present in Ifalik canoes are:

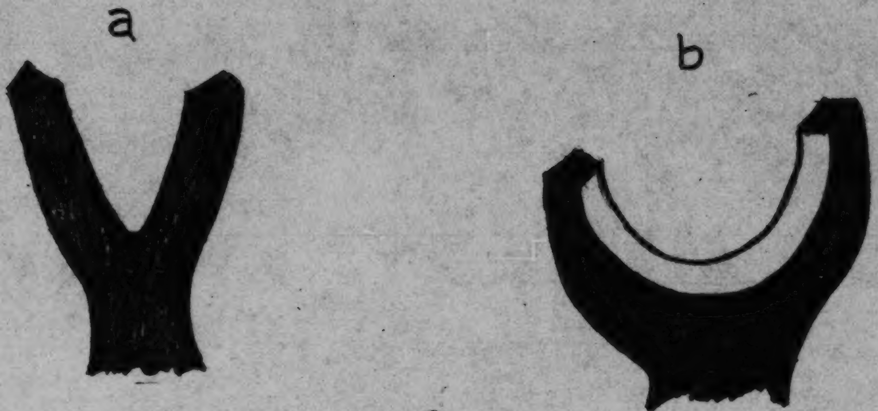
triangular outrigger platform

"* Throughout the following account, the terminology in English follows that of Haddon and Hornell."

lee platform on the side opposite the outrigger
forked heads at the top of both end-posts
two outrigger booms, curving downward
outrigger float attached to booms by crutch-shaped Y connectives and cord brace made up of multiple lashing. (A difference here is that in Ifalik the connectives are not pointed and driven into the float, but flat-ended, and carefully fitted to press against it. These connectives take only stresses that push the float toward the booms. Stresses that pull float and booms apart are taken by the cord brace.)

The characteristic of the 'flying proa' elsewhere which is not shared by Ifalik canoes is asymmetry of the hull. In the classic 'flying proa' type, Haddon and Hornell say, 'one side, the weather or outrigger side, is more rounding or fuller than the lee side.' As will appear in the account of drawing lines to guide the shaping of the hull, Ifalik hulls are carefully made symmetrical, longitudinally and transversely."

1: Burrows--55-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 501 Ifalik



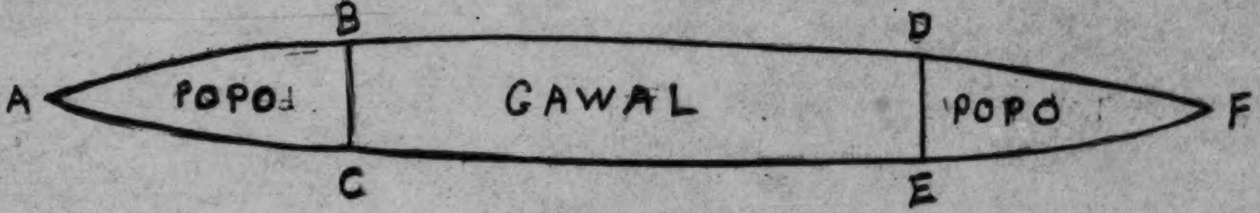
"Fig. 9. -Two types of forked head (metaliwā) for the ends of a canoe.

a, the type called kawalu, used on Ifalik.
b, the type called pōpō, attributed to Seimeligarâra."

1: Burrows--55-B
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



"Fig. 10. -First measurements on the bottom of a canoe.

ABDF is the top of the log, which will be the bottom of the hull. It is called arol. BC and DE are the dividing lines between the end sections, called pōpō, and the middle section, called gawal. The gawal is one half the total length; each of the pōpō one quarter. The dividing points B and D are called annetok."

1: Burrows--53-56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 341, 773 Ifalik 1-7

"Details of construction were recorded by Sarfert and Damm and, following them, by Haddon and Hornell. What additions can be made here will be given mostly in the accompanying figures. The following account will emphasize the process of building a canoe and its supernatural sanctions. The membership of the working parties, and the obligations which bring them to the job and keep them on it, will be discussed in the chapter on economics.

The fine point in construction of the hull is the drawing of lines to ensure its being hewn to a symmetrical shape. Tom said: 'Suppose some man savvy chop, no savvy line; he no savvy carpenter.' The origin of the lore of drawing lines is explained in the following myth. [KS: See category 539] This is one of several versions of one of the most popular tales about the sky-dwellers. In this one the building of a new type of canoe is emphasized. What is the climax in two other versions (one collected by Spiro, the other embodied in a song) is omitted here--details of how Galēt, by reawaking his wife's passion for him, induced her to follow him back home. All the characters are supernatural beings, though they behave much like human islanders.

HOW SEIMELIGARĀRA TAUGHT CANOE-BUILDING TO SEILANGI

Galēt was very sad because he could not see his wife. He was living in the Men's House, while she, GanauliwIr, was in her mother's house. He did no work, staying inside his mosquito net. Food was brought to him there. GanauliwIr, too, stayed inside the mosquito net in her mother's house. [54]

Then Virar came, and took GanauliwIr away with him to Ulimatau.

Galet had two brothers, Wëtreilok and Uterang. Wëtreilok was the husband of Seramaliwok, sister of GanauliwIr.

Wëtreilok said to his wife 'I am going to talk to Galĕt. Then we will go bathing together. While we are in the water, you come past, dressed in your best clothes.'

Seramaliwok made ready, putting on a new skirt, flowers in her hair, and red turmeric paint on her face and body.

Wëtreilok went to the Men's House and called to Galĕt, who was asleep in his mosquito net.

'Wake up, Galĕt! Your wife is gone! Virar took her away!'

He persuaded Galĕt that the first thing to do was to go bathing.

While they were in the water, Seramaliwok came by in all her finery.

'Oh, look!' Galĕt cried. 'There is the wife for me!'

'Never mind that one', Wëtreilok replied. 'She is my wife. But she is nothing compared to her sister. I mean GanauliwIr, the wife that Virar took away from you.'

'Is GanauliwIr as beautiful as all that?'

'Indeed she is.'

The thought of losing such a beautiful woman made Galĕt furious. He blew his whistle, until people said 'What's the matter with Galēt? ' He took a stick and began to wreck the Men's House.

His father, the chief, tried to console him by summoning all the women, so that Galēt might look them over and choose the one he liked best to be his new wife. When they came, there was one that Galēt thought he liked very much.

But Wētreilok told him 'Oh, she is nothing like so beautiful as the one you had before.'

Galēt broke out again in fury. He blew his whistle, took his stick, and began to wreck his father's house.

Then he decided to have a canoe made, so that he could go to Ulimatau and try to get his wife back. The work was in charge of Seimeligarāra, who had studied the art of canoe-building with Seilangi and Wolfat. He made a canoe in the most approved style of the time. But Galēt did not like it.

'What kind of canoe would you like? '

'Oh, I want something different.'

Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and asked 'What kinds of canoes can you make? ' [55]

Seilangi said 'Only the one kind, like all those we have here.'

'Well just you wait. I'm going to make something different.'

So Seimeligarāra went to work and made a canoe with a special kind of forked end (metaliwā). The fork had a wide, round opening instead of a pointed one. Moreover, he painted the inner curve of the fork white; the outer half, black, instead of making it black all over. When it was launched it looked very fine, and proved to be a fast sailer. Galēt was greatly pleased with it,

Galēt said 'Now I am going to Ulimatau to get my wife. Who is going with me? '

His two brothers, Wëtreilok and Uterang, went with him; also Wëtreilok's wife, Seramailowok.

Galēt took the sheet. Uterang went aft and took the wheel. Wëtreilok went below and manned the pump. *

Seramaliwok lay on the platform over the outrigger, under the pandanus shelter (gaimwemwe). Galēt had had this rigged so that it opened toward the hull of the canoe instead of away from it, as is usual. This was so that he could look at Seramaliwok.

During the voyage Galēt flirted with Seramaliwok, and at last put his finger in her genitals.

Wëtreilok, down in the hull, smelled the discharge, but went on working the pump. **

"* Tom said 'wheel' and 'pump', although in an Ifalik canoe, to this day, steering is done by a steering paddle, and bailing by a wooden bailer.

** This bit of obscenity, which has nothing to do with the rest of the story, unless to emphasize Galēt's passionate nature, seems to be introduced for humorous effect. I took it down solemnly, but found out later that a more acceptable response would have been uproarious laughter."

They reached Ulimatau and took down sail and mast.

Seramaliwok went ashore and found her sister, GanauliwIr, in the house of Virar.

'Where is your husband?'

'He is out in the bush, putting pandanus leaves around the trunks of the coconut trees so that the rats can't climb them and eat the young coconuts.'

'I have come to take you with me.'

'Where?'

'To see your old husband, and decide whether you like him best.'

'All right. But the husband I have now is a wonderful man. There is no-one like him.'

'Still, you'd better come and see the old one again.'

When GanauliwIr saw Galēt, the husband she had deserted, she decided at once that she loved him best, and got in the canoe with him and went back to Ururial.

(At this point in other versions comes an account of a dance in which Galēt wins [56] back his wife's love; and on the return journey, instead of going in a canoe, she follows him as he walks on the waves.)

After the canoe he built had made such a successful voyage, Seimeligarāra went to Seilangi and offered to teach him canoe-building. He said he was willing to do this because he, Seimeligarāra, did not have enough people to work for him, while Seilangi had plenty.

So Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi the art of the measuring-line. If you use it rightly, the canoe will be fast in the water. If you don't use it, but rely on your eye and the adz, the canoe will be very slow. Seimeligarāra taught Seilangi all the proper measurements.

Seilangi went to work on a canoe. Whenever he had any doubts or difficulties, he took them to Seimeligarāra. Seimeligarāra taught him how to shape the bottom of the canoe, how to shape and measure the sail, and how to make holes in the outrigger float to tie it to the booms.

Seilangi taught the art of the line to SemerIk. From these three it spread among the gods. People down on earth asked the three gods to descend and teach them the art. The gods came down, so now people know how to shape a canoe.

In this story the special shape of forked end made by Seimeligarāra evidently symbolizes the whole art of shaping a hull by means of lines. The forked end is called *metali wā*, face or eye of the canoe. The particular shape introduced by Seimeligarāra is called *pōpō*, the name used by Haddon and Hornell (from what source is not stated) for the type of 'flying proa' used throughout the region. On Ifalik *pōpō* is also the name of the two end sections of the underbody. The Hamburg expedition obtained a model canoe on Ifalik with this kind of forked end. Its name, they were told, was *gauat*, and there had been one on Ifalik until the typhoon of 1907. Tom said that in Ifalik a carpenter might still build a canoe of popō type if he wanted to, and that there were many in some other islands. In a version of the Galēt story collected by Spiro, without native text, the peculiarity of the canoe built by Seimeligarāra for Galēt is that the hull 'turns at an angle.' Conceivably this could be a way of describing an asymmetric hull. However that may be, at present the story serves on Ifalik as a mythological charter for the practice of drawing lines on a canoe hull so that it can be hewn into a symmetrical shape."

1: Burrows--56 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 173 Ifalik

"Damm's account, based on Sarfert's visit, mentions a myth which attributes the first canoe to Seilangi. The only further detail is that he brought the art down to mankind on the island 'Modj', four days' journey south of Truk. Damm identifies this island with Modj (on our charts More) in the atoll Satawan in the Nomoi or Mortlock group. No point of origin was known to my informants."

1: Burrows--56-57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The first day in canoe building which is regarded as of vital importance is that on which the bottom is first measured off. The tree has already been selected and felled, the log for the underbody roughed out and hauled to the canoe-house where the work is to be done. On the morning of the day when the first lines are to be drawn, the workers may not touch food, except for a drink of fresh coconut toddy. [57]

Before beginning the work, the carpenter takes a coconut and offers it to the gods Seimeligarāra, Seilangi, and SemerIk, with the following prayer. (The English words for the first line seem to be a paraphrase rather than a translation.)

Eia ngalir tautou,	Gods of the carpenter
Tautou bwo li valval,	Carpenter of the measuring-line,
E bwe gatre tipal.	He will be happy.

Tom said this was the whole text of the prayer, but explained that the carpenter was going to be happy because his canoe would be light and fast, and would not sink.

The instruments used for measuring are a sennit line (tal ni valval), a flexible ruler (tageluvā) made of a strip of coconut leaf midrib, a bit of leaflet midrib for measuring short spaces, a pot of red paint and a wooden pen or marker."

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"First the length of the bottom is measured off with the line. Then its middle point is found by doubling the line. The line is redoubled, giving a length one quarter of the total. This quarter distance is measured off from each end and marked. This divides the bottom into three parts. The two at the ends, called pōpō, are a quarter of the total length; the one in the middle, called gawal, half of the total. The bottom is to be curved along the pōpō, straight (or nearly so) along the gawal. This ensures that the two curving ends shall be of the same length.

Next a double line is stretched along the median line of the bottom (ABDF in the figure). With ruler and paint, lines are drawn on each side of it. Lines are then drawn with the ruler on each side of the median line. (ACEF in the figure represents one of them). The distances BC and DE and the corresponding ones on the other side, are carefully measured with a strip of leaflet midrib to make sure that they are all equal. This ensures symmetry of the underbody (pongo) at this stage, both longitudinally and transversely.

The master carpenter then gives permission for the workers to break their fast. They may now drink young coconut, and eat its soft flesh."

1: Burrows--57 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Next the bottom is hewn to shape. As the lines are chipped off with the adzes, new ones are drawn on. At a later stage it is customary to have five lines on each side. The principle is the same as with the first two; to keep them equidistant throughout their length, so that the hull will be symmetrical in both dimensions. This is said to ensure its sailing straight and fast.

When the underbody is finished except for final touches, it is turned right side up. Occasionally the builder of a small canoe will be able to get a log big enough to make the hull, except for the end-posts, all in one piece. Such a canoe is called wā velanū. All the larger canoes, though, and most of the small ones, have their sides built up with planks (pape).

The underbody is hollowed out for the sake of lightness, except that several triangular spreaders (vailō) are left intact to keep the flaring sides from collapsing. A joint is cut in each end, at a somewhat acute angle, to take the lower end of an end-post."

1: Burrows--58
116, 396

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"When each joint [KS: of a canoe] is made satisfactorily tight, holes are bored at corresponding points in the two surfaces. Then the two are sewed together, with sennit cord. The leading end of the cord is stiffened, for pushing through the hole, by tying it to a makeshift bodkin or eyeless needle, which consists of a slender strip or splinter cut off a coconut leaf midrib. The cord is passed round and round through each hole; but the technique is strictly sewing rather than lashing, as it is sometimes called, because the cord passes through the planks rather than around them. The first attachment is only temporary.

With the end-pieces in place, breadfruit planks are hewn out of the biggest pieces available, and fitted and sewed together by the processes just described. Wood is so scarce that even wormeaten pieces are used, and patched if necessary. The joints between planks take whatever shape--usually a very irregular one--will waste the least wood. In this way the hull is built up to the size desired, or that dictated by the available timber."

1: Burrows--58
116, 396

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Next the end-pieces (par) are hewn out. Though much smaller than the underbody, they must take the brunt of any end-on collision. So they are made of hard, tough wood, usually ragēs. They are the only pieces in the hull to be made of other wood than breadfruit, though hardwoods are also used for the masthead and several parts of the outrigger and platforms.

Each end-piece is trimmed to form a cutwater (vetang) as sharp as it can be without weakening it too much. Even in the largest canoes, the cutwater is usually less than an inch wide. The inboard side is hollowed out, leaving two or three triangular spreaders, as in the underbody. The one that will come at the height of the gunwales has a special name, ta li vetvet. A shallow round pit or socket is cut in its upper surface. This holds the apex of the sail, when that end is the bow; and supports the butt of a fishing-pole when the end is the stern and the canoe is being used for trolling. The forked head, the shape of which has already been discussed, is hewn out of the solid top of each end-piece; or, if wood is lacking for part of the fork on one side or both, separate pieces are shaped and fastened on. Finally, the bottom of each end-piece is cut to fit the joint cut in one end of the underbody. The post must set at such an angle as to give the overhang characteristic of all Ifalik canoes."

1: Burrows-58 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The technique of fitting two pieces together, which begins with joining the parts of the forked head or, if that is all in one piece, with joining the end-post to the underbody, is always the same. It is a very slow one, requiring repeated trial fittings. The two parts to be fitted together are first shaped by eye; and the eye is such a practised one, in the case of experienced canoe-carpenters, that an approximate fit is achieved at once. But hardly ever can it be good enough to make a watertight joint. So the joining surface of one of the pieces--always the lower one, on the piece first put in place as the canoe is built up--is daubed with red paint. The other piece is then lifted into place, with its joining surface against the fresh paint. Any protrusions, which widen the joint, take the paint, and show the carpenters where more wood has to be taken off. After the reddened bits of surface have been removed, and any other changes indicated by the fitting completed, the upper piece is tried on again. The process is repeated until the joint is satisfactorily tight at every point. This task, which is repeated for every piece in the hull where two surfaces are to be in contact, goes very slowly, with many pauses for consultation and rest. Only a few men--two to four seems a usual number--stay on the job through this stage."

1: Burrows--59 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"No ribs or inner framework stiffen the hull as a whole. Such a vessel, made of planks simply sewn together edge to edge, seems very flimsy. And, indeed, there is always danger, in a heavy sea, that the hull may be crushed or broken apart. Yet several devices help to strengthen it. The little triangular spreaders left in place in hewing out the underbody and end-posts have that effect, as far as they go. Broad gunwales (mesāp), laid flat, surmount both sides, stiffening them as well as turning aside some of the water that would otherwise splash in. The two outrigger booms, running athwart the hull amidships, are perhaps the strongest braces of all. The little rosemani, which keep to the lagoon except in calm weather, have no other thwarts than these. Larger canoes have several, the number varying with their size. Those nearest the bow and stern of sailing canoes have a special name (metangār) and an additional function. They project beyond the hull, and end in knobs. When the mast is up, the halyards are made fast to these projections, and the knobs keep them from slipping off.

These stiffening devices are most effective against inward stresses that threaten to crush the hull. Against outward stresses, so communicated from one member to another that they threaten to spread the hull apart, there is less protection. As a last resort a rope may be slung about a canoe at sea, to hold the hull together. Not everyone knows how to do this; in fact, the purpose of a song in which I first heard it mentioned was to shame a crew of young men who had let their canoe break apart on a sand-spit because they did not know how to rope it together."

1: Burrows--59 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"When all the pieces of the hull have been hewn to shape and fitted together, there is another burst of work, requiring a considerable number of men. The hull is taken apart, a few chips hewn off here and there to make the joints fit better, then it is all put together again, this time permanently. The joints are tightened with thin strips that act like caulking, though they are laid in place, not driven in. The seams are glued; and the lashing is replaced more carefully than before. At this point in the building of Tom's canoe, 31 men were counted in the canoe-house, though there were rarely more than 10 working at any one time.

The strips that correspond to caulking are made of the husk of mature coconuts, skillfully cut in very thin slices (päle). Sometimes, it is said, dried moss may be used instead; but coconut husk is preferred for the best canoes.

Over the caulking is spread a glue of breadfruit gum (bwIlIs). The gum collects on slashes made in the bark and outer wood of the trunk. It is kept, nowadays, in glass bottles. To remove it for use, a stick is thrust into the bottle. When withdrawn, it pulls out after it a white rope of gum. This is wound on the stick in a ball. Before applying, it is heated with a torch (kal) of coconut spathes. Thus softened, it comes off on the caulking in a thin, even sheet."

1: Burrows--59-60 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Taking the hull apart, caulking it, and re-assembling it, constitute a full day's work, though taken at a much faster pace than the leisurely one used in fitting planks together. About midday the owner of the canoe feasts the workmen on breadfruit or taro in coconut cream, which is usually all he has to offer.

Although this is a day of great activity it is not taken as solemnly as the days of more delicate, risky tasks. The workmen are not subjected to any tapus [sic], and the only ritual performed is a short prayer and offering a bit of food just before the men begin to eat. This is customary at any distribution of food to a group larger than a household. [60]

The fitting of gunwales and preparation of the parts of the outrigger make up another slow, careful stage, with only a few men working at a time. The outrigger booms are centered in the hull by measuring its overall length with a sennit line, then doubling the line. At points equidistant from the halfway mark so determined, and about a yard apart, the outrigger booms are fitted into the gunwales. The same measure--half the overall length of the hull--is used for the distance from the middle of the hull to the point on each boom directly over the middle of the outrigger float."

1: Burrows--60 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik 1-2

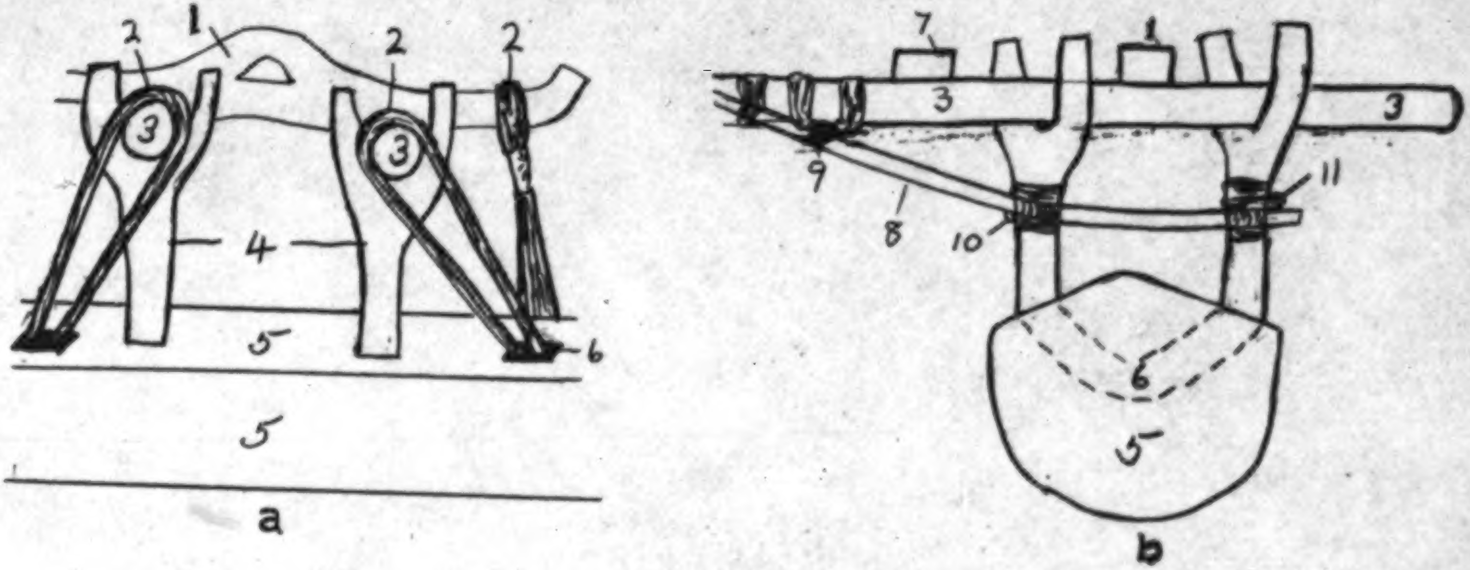
"The next crucial point is the attachment of the outrigger float (tam). This is considered a particularly delicate and difficult task. On the day when it is done, the workmen again eat nothing in the morning, --this time not even toddy. Four forked sticks (iam) form the Y or crutch connectives. The insides of the forks are carefully fitted to the booms to make as tight a joint as possible. Their lower ends are also fitted with great care to the upper surface of the float. On each boom, one fork presses against the inboard angle of this surface, the other against the outboard angle. They are not fastened at this end in any way.

A number of other pieces are added to strengthen the outrigger attachment. A yoke (wā lieng) connects the two booms between the inner and outer pairs of crutches. Just inboard from the inner pair of crutches, another spar (sosoā) connects the two booms. Riri fern leaves are tied on with the lashing that attaches this brace. These leaves are thought to ensure the presence of fish whenever the canoe goes out after them. If the leaves were omitted, there would be fish sometimes, but not always. The fact that fish are not always found even when this requirement has been met does not seem to disturb anyone's faith. The structure is further braced by means of light struts which run diagonally from the outer side of each boom to the outer sides of each pair of crutches. Another light stick connects the lower side of the booms at the upper ends of these struts; still another connects the two outboard crutches at the lower end of the struts. These pieces are very small, usually less than 1/2 inch in diameter; but they are made of the strongest kinds of wood, commonly gaingei. Thus the outrigger attachment is braced and reinforced against stress in almost any direction, while the lashing, and at some points the elasticity of the wood, allow the structure to give a little without breaking. The crutches and their bracing serve to keep booms and float at the proper distance from each other. The float is fastened to the rest of the structure solely by stout rope lashing (Fig. 1, 2). It can be quickly and easily detached by simply undoing these ropes; and this is often done, to save space and strain, when a canoe is stowed in the canoe-house.

The light platform on the outrigger booms is built next. As this involves no new techniques, the details shown in Fig. 12 seem sufficient. The same is true of the lee platform shown in Fig. 13.

When all but the rigging [KS: of a canoe] is in place, the final lashing is put in, more tightly and carefully than the others. Wherever any appreciable length of lashing is exposed, it is protected by seizing. The holes in the hull, through which the lashings run, are filled with a putty or mortar made of coral lime mixed with charcoal from burned coconut husks. The charcoal is said to give the mixture strength."

"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment." See next page.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1: Burrows--60-A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Fig. 11. -Outrigger attachment.

For the sake of clearness, this diagram omits many details, such as the lashings that bind crutch connectives, yoke, and brace to the boom.

a, from outboard side. (Only the outboard pair of crutch connectives is shown.)

1, yoke (walieng); 2, lashing attaching yoke and booms to float;
3, booms (gio); 4, crutch connectives (amw); 5, float (tam);
6, holes in float through which lashings pass.

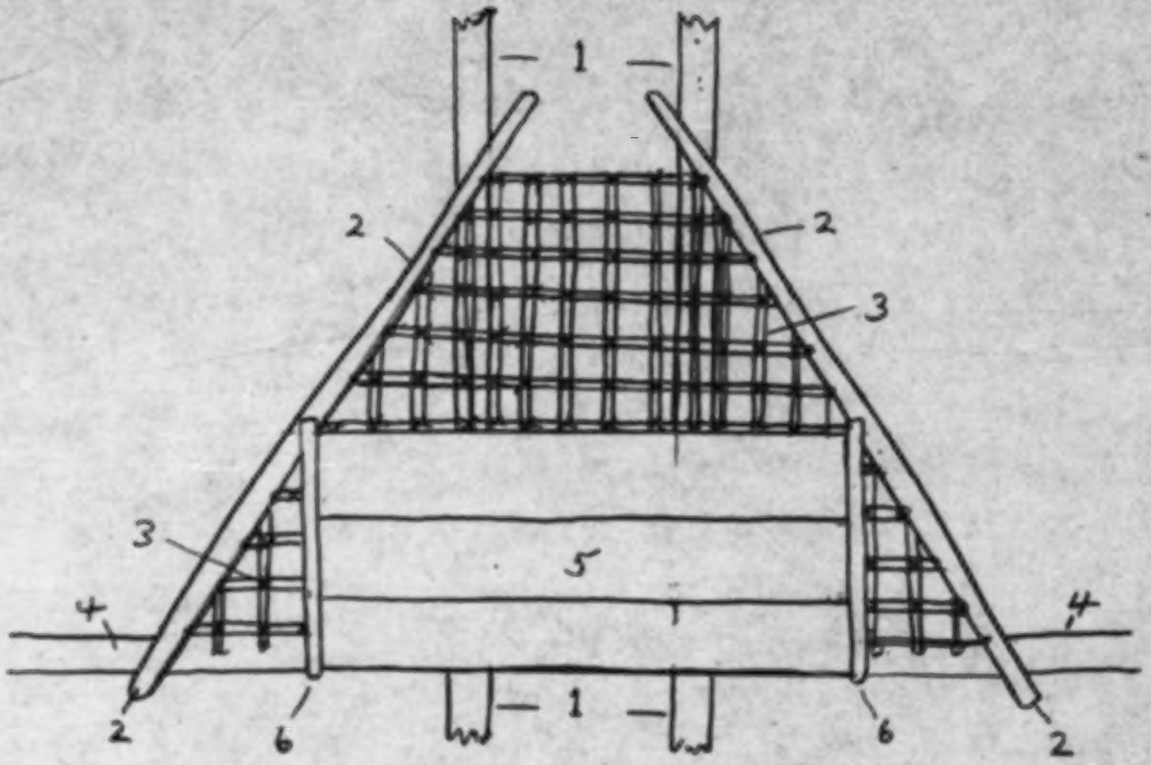
b, end view. (Only one boom, with the inboard and outboard connectives and strut attached to it, are shown.)

Numbers designate the same parts as in (a), with the following additions:
7, brace; 8, strut (rege); 9, light brace between booms;
10, light brace between inboard connectives; 11, light brace between outboard connectives."

1: Burrows--60-B
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1·2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"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform." See adjoining page.

1: Burrows--60-B (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Fig. 12. -Outrigger platform.

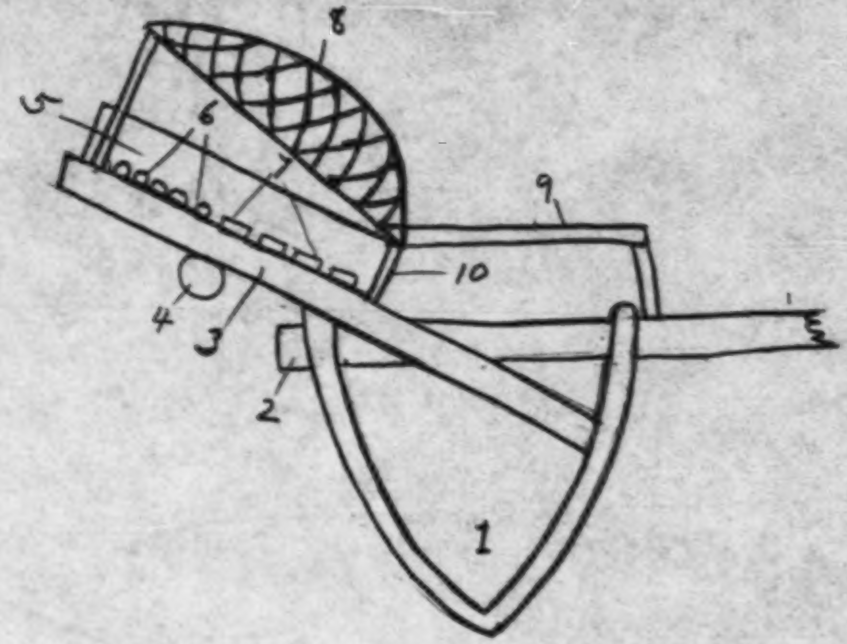
1, booms; 2, diagonal spars (metare vang) between booms and gunwales;
3, withe platform (vang), spaced to show lower layer of transverse withes. (Actually they are laid so close together that the lower layer does not show);
4, gunwales; 5, plank platform (peraf);
6, shaped upright planks (mwale maor) at forward and after ends of plank platform."

1: Burrows--60-C
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2

"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (pep)." See next page.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1: Burrows--60-C (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 501 Ifalik

"Fig. 13. -Lee platform (*pep*).

1, hull; 2, boom; 3, supporting spar. There is one supporting spar at each end of the platform; only the nearer one is shown. Midway between them is a squared beam, not shown, which forms an additional support to the platform but does not extend across the hull. It is called *outeni i pep*.

4, longitudinal spar (*walieng*); 5, end frame piece (*pal i pep*; only the farther one is shown);

6, withes forming floor of outer part of platform (*fang i li pep*); 7, slats forming floor of inner part of platform (*ujili i li pep*); 8, pandanus-leaf roof or shelter over platform (*gaimwemwe*; this consists of whole pandanus leaves, overlapping, laid over a light frame of withes lashed together. A top layer of sennit netting prevents the leaves from being torn off by the wind); 9, transverse board (*folak*; there is one at each end of the platform; only the farther one is shown); 10, inboard frame place (*weliwā*)."

1: Burrows--60-61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The shaping of the mast (gaus) is once more a task for one or two men. The mast is made in two pieces, a main spar of soft wood and an extension or masthead (mer e li gaus or just mer) of hard wood. Logs that drift ashore from the east, and are said to come from America, furnish the favorite material for the main spar. The masthead is [61] attached to the main spar by lashing over a long diagonal joint. At the top it is finished off in diamond shape, like a blunt spearhead. This part is broader and flatter than the rest. Through its center is cut a hole, which serves instead of block or pully to take the halyard that hoists and lowers the sail. As the sail is suspended from this halyard, the pull of the wind comes against one side of the hole in the masthead. The stress would be too great for a soft or easily-split wood. That is why the masthead is a separate piece, of the toughest wood available. The favorite wood is ragēs.

Long, light spars (irañū) are prepared for two of the three sides of the sail. In most cases they are pieced together with the same kind of long, diagonal lashed joint as that used to join the two pieces of the mast. Most of the spars have a slight double curve, like an extremely flat 's'. Hence the sail, instead of being a rectilinear triangle, flares out a little, from the apex toward the after side, where there is no spar. This shape of spar seems to be deliberately preferred; whether simply as a matter of traditional taste, or because of some real or supposed advantage in the flare that it gives to the sail, is not clear."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"The finished strips are brought to the men. They lay out the gaff and boom on a level piece of ground, usually in front of the canoe-house, at what is judged to be the angle they will take when the sail is finished. The strips of matting are laid in place, according to length, parallel to the gaff and with an inch or two of overlap. Then they are sewed together with light sennit lines. Not only are seams sewed where the strips join, but the whole is strengthened by other lines of stitching run across at right angles. Foreign sailmakers' needles of copper or brass are used for this work. Most of the stitches are several inches long.

It would be perfectly feasible to plait a sail in one piece. But a sail made of strips has several advantages. It is stronger, because of the double width along the seams. When a tear does start, it is apt to be confined to one strip. And such a tear, or worn place, can be easily repaired by replacing one strip, or part of one.

As soon as the rigging is ready, the canoe is carried into the water and launched. It is taken for a trial run (gaterax), to see how it performs under sail. First it is paddled out to where it can catch the wind, then the mast is stepped and the sail hoisted for the first time."

1: Burrows--61 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"Meanwhile women have been making one of their two contributions to the construction of the canoe--plaiting strips of mat for the sail. (The other is the indirect one of supplying food to the workers.) The strips are about a foot wide, of unbleached pandanus leaf, plaited in simple check with wefts about one quarter inch wide. In length the strips vary from one nearly the full length of the forward spar or gaff, to one only a little longer than it is wide. All will be attached at one end to the lower spar or boom. The other end will form a selvage along the open or after side of the sail. The longest strip will be attached along one side to the upper spar or yard. Each successive strip, counting from this side, is shorter until the last one, at the corner where boom and open side meet, shows as a triangle. Except for overlap, it is only about as long as it is wide on the forward side, and comes down to a point on the after corner.

The length of the largest strip is determined, then, by the length of the yard; the number of strips by the length of the boom. The length of each succeeding strip, as they taper off, is worked out by trial and discussion among all concerned. There is no formal position of master sailmaker among the women, but the ranking member of each working party, according to seniority and experience, is accorded some deference."

1: Burrows--62 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik 1.2

"The heel of the mast is set into a socket cut in a block on the outrigger platform, just amidships and directly over the gunwale on the outrigger or weather side. (This side is called palietam; the lee side, igetā.) The sail is hoisted by hauling on the peak halyard that runs through the masthead and is fastened to the yard on the upper long side of the sail. The mast is tilted forward until the apex of the sail settles into a socket cut for it in the wedge-shaped brace (ta li vetvet) on the inboard side of the end-post, at the height of the gunwales. This corner of the sail is made fast by means of a short line or tack. From this point the lower spar or boom rises at an angle, so that the short side of the sail, the one without a spar, is highest and farthest aft.

The mast [KS: of a canoe] is supported to windward by a shroud running from the masthead to a hole in the middle of the yoke which connects the two outrigger booms directly over the float. For and aft it is supported by a running stay attached in the middle to the masthead and at the ends to the projecting endmost thwarts. The sail is let in and out by a sheet attached to the boom, much as in sails of European type. To shorten sail in case a squall threatens to capsize the canoe, the boom can be raised by means of spilling lines reeved through the masthead. *

In order to change to the other tack in beating to windward, or to make any sharp turn of more than a right angle, the canoe does not go about like European sailing craft, but changes ends. This is quickly done, while the canoe swings toward the new direction, by the following procedure: raising the boom to shorten sail, unfastening the apex of the sail, swinging the sail around the mast to leeward, and stepping the apex in the other end. This converts what was the stern into the bow. The steersman takes his post in what was the bow, which now becomes the stern. The boom is lowered, the sheet let out. The sail catches the wind, and the canoe moves off in the new direction. Obviously, the reason for this procedure is to keep the outrigger on the windward side, and so balance the vessel against the sidewise pressure of wind on the sail."

"* This rig is shown, more clearly than words can do it, in some of the illustrations in Haddon and Hornell; particularly Vol. 1, Figs. 269 and 270. Fig. 268 shows more clearly the shroud from masthead to yoke, but the sail is either in the wrong position or is of a different type from that used in Ifalik. Abb. 150 on p. 53 of Damm's book shows how some of the lines are attached to the mast. But the artist who redrew Sarfert's sketch made the mast too long and the apex of the sail too high, like a European lateen, rather than an Oceanic one."

1: Burrows--62-63 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396 Ifalik

"For maneuvering in shallow water, sailing canoes use the same equipment as small paddling canoes; paddles and even poles, though poles are rather for staving off coral heads than for propulsion, as the large canoes avoid water shallow enough for poling. The paddles have round, straight shafts, without knobs or other elaborations at the top, and lanceolate blades. These taper symmetrically from a low ridge along the middle to thin edges. At the tip, in most paddles, the middle ridge is extended and slightly expanded (Fig. 14, c.) The protruding knob or spike helps to prevent the blade from splitting when the paddle is used for poling or staving off an obstacle; though such use is avoided, if there is time to seize a pole.

In open sea, canoes are kept on their course by a quarter rudder (Fig. 14, b.) It is shipped near the stern on the leeward side. The line through the hole in its upper part is made fast to the projection of the stern thwart on the opposite side. The direction of the blade is regulated by the handle. To hold the lower part of the blade against the side of the canoe, the steersman has to sit on the gunwale with one leg over the side. For this reason, steering at sea is an awkward and strenuous task. [63]

The quarter rudder not only steers the canoe, but cuts down drift like the sideboards sometimes fitted to small canoes in the United States when they are sailed."

"The hulls have a total height of four or five feet, and when loaded draw from two to, at most, three feet of water. Lacking a keel, or even the flattened leeward side of some other Micronesian canoes, they can sail close to the wind, and drift rather badly. This seems to be the main weakness of the canoes, otherwise admirably fast under sail, and seaworthy for their size. One of the chief worries of a native navigator is that he may drift off his course unless he has a following wind, and miss entirely the small, low island which is the only destination he can have within three or four hundred miles of Ifalik.

Unless the trial run indicates the need of some further work or readjustments on the canoe--none were necessary on Tom's masterpiece--the permanent lashing (or sewing) is at last put in, and the hull painted. This is the final step in making a canoe. It is always done in red, black, and white, according to the traditional design shown in Fig. 15. This design was part of the traditional lore of canoe-making brought down to men by the gods Seilangi and Semerik. If ever an Ifalik man seriously considers painting a canoe in any other way, the mentality of the island will be very different from what it was in 1948. No tabu against painting a canoe in some other design, nor penalty for doing so, was ever mentioned. It did not have to be. No such idea ever comes up. There is only one right way to paint a canoe, so, of course, they are all painted that way. There is scope for individual fancy at only one point: the middle of the upper red band, between the outrigger booms, where little decorations or attempts at writing may be painted. Tom's choice for this part of his canoe was an American flag.

The pigments used nowadays [KS: for painting canoes] are bought from foreign ships; but the red, which is the first put on and apparently the most prized, is still mixed with breadfruit gum. If my informants can be trusted as to the pigment formerly used, it was bark of the rel tree soaked in water and mixed with coral lime. When this red paint is being applied, one of the huge leaves of the giant arum (filē) is suspended over the hull. This can hardly be anything but a bit of magic or ritual or[sic] ensure success of the job, or of the canoe after it is finished. But Tom could not explain its symbolism. He fell back on his usual statement about traditional practises whose meaning had been forgotten--'blong before.'

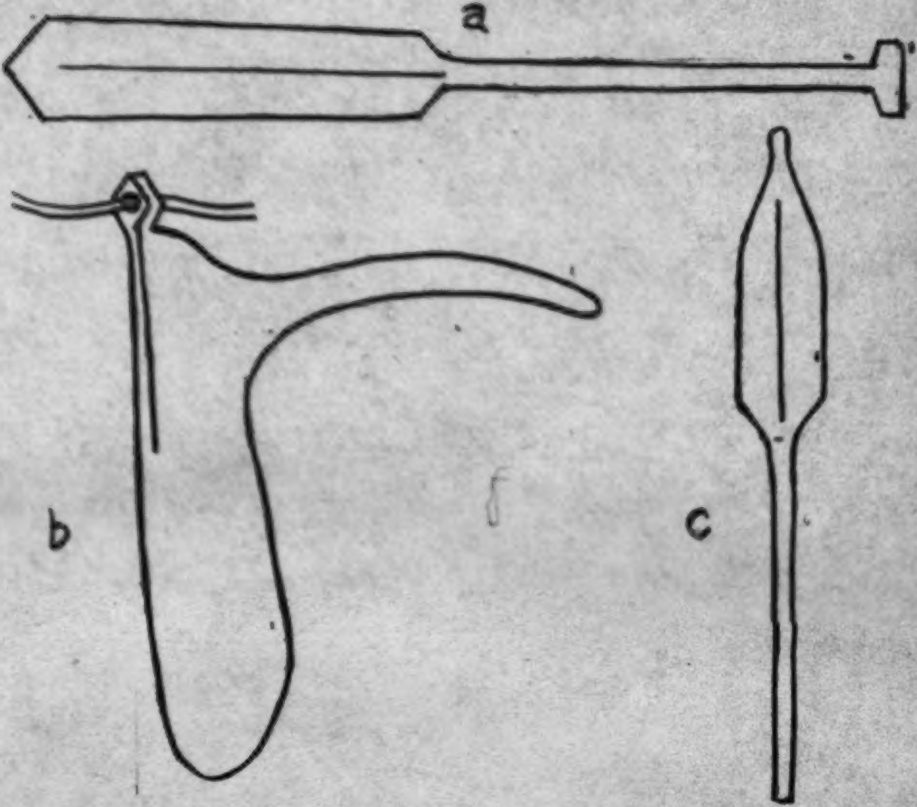
No part of the outrigger is ever painted. Pestered again with the inevitable 'Why?', Tom at first parried with 'blong before.' After thinking it over, he suggested that the paint might be too heavy. We were talking especially about the float, and this suggestion at least reflects native insistence that the float must be light; so light that the wood of only two of the nine varieties of breadfruit is considered suitable for it."

1: Burrows--63-A
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

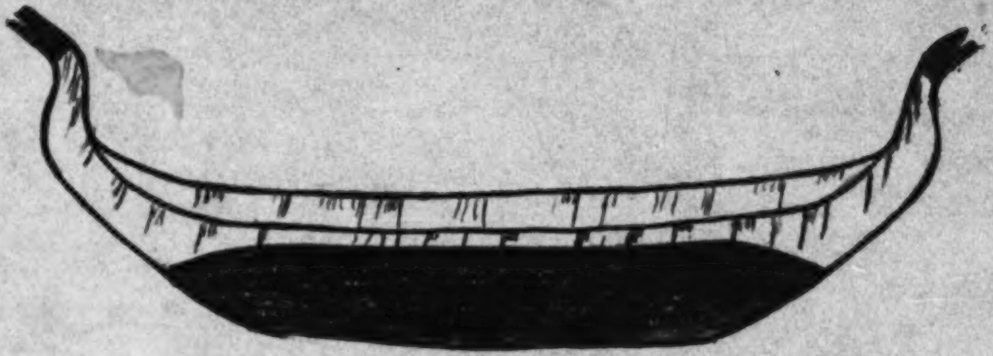
"Fig. 14. - a, steering paddle;
b, quarter rudder;
c, paddle."



1: Burrows--63-B
116, 396, 501

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



"Fig. 15. -Traditional design for painting a canoe.

The colors are red, black, and white. Portions painted in red are shown by shading. The little panels of white, outlined with black, are called rajūm; the red portion (perhaps only the wide parts of it near bow and stern?), metegal; the black line through the middle of the red, fare; the narrow lower strip of red, lanīlap; the boundary between red and lower black, meteitralo; and the black under portion, amīs."

1: Burrows--64
116, 487, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The ancient art of navigation in native sailing canoes is still in use on the seas about Ifalik. Most of the voyages are short, between neighboring islands. Probably more than half of the traffic in and out of Ifalik is with Woleai, only 30 miles away. Yet trips to any of the islands within 100 miles are not unusual. And though longer distances, as to Yap, Truk and Guam, are now ordinarily left to foreign steamers or airplanes, sailing directions for them, too, are still remembered. Tom, whose claim to be the foremost 'captain' of Ifalik seemed to be generally acknowledged, said that he could still reach any of those islands by the old methods. However, he owns two compasses, and knows how to use them from his long service on foreign ships. He would supplement native lore by taking one along."

1: Burrows--64-65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 132 Ifalik 1·2

"A glimpse of the extent of interisland voyaging is afforded by the list of sailings to and from Ifalik during our six months there:

Aug. 18.--A visiting canoe from Faraulep, which had been at Ifalik since our arrival (July 28), awaiting a wind from the south, set out for home, accompanied by an Ifalik canoe.
Sept. 2.--Ifalik canoe returned from Faraulep.
Sept. 11.--An Ifalik canoe set out for Woleai.
Sept. 17.--Ifalik canoe returned from Woleai, accompanied by a Woleai canoe.
Sept. 19.--Woleai canoe returned.
Oct. 3.--Another canoe arrived from Woleai.
Oct. 11.--Visiting canoe went back to Woleai.
Dec. 6.--Ifalik canoe went fishing to the reef Faiaulap.
Jan. 14.--Woleai canoe that had visited Ifalik in October came again.

The long interval from Oct. 11 to January 14, with no sailings except one overnight fishing trip, was partly accidental, but largely due to the prevailing winds. During October and November they varied in both direction and force. They were mainly from the west. A west wind is good for reaching Elato, Lamotrek or Satawal from Ifalik.

But Tom was the only one who wanted to go that way (to visit a son on Lamotrek). And he was kept at home by two considerations: first, he had the visiting anthropologists to look after; second, his new canoe was not finished. [65]

Another deterrent at that time of year is that the westerly wind may blow up, with little warning, into a typhoon. Ifalik was not struck by a typhoon at that time; but twice --once in November, once in December-- was in the edges of one whose full force was felt on Yap. On those days the wind blew hard enough to uproot trees. That is far too strong for a canoe to venture out in, though one caught in such a blow may menage to ride it out.

From late November on, the trade wind blew from the east nearly every day. During the early part of its season this wind, too, is often too strong for safe sailing. Later on it dies down, and is more often a mild sailing breeze. Moreover, beginning about May, there would be occasional days of west wind; so that a canoe that went to Woleai before the trade might expect a good wind for the return trip without too long a wait. (A similar situation accounts for the frequent sailings to and from Woleai during September and October.) More frequent sailings might be expected during our spring and early summer months; but as we left Ifalik before then, no record can be given."

1: Burrows--65 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 505, 554 Ifalik

"An accredited navigator is called *palū*. They are rather vaguely divided into two classes, *palū e lap*, great captains, and *palū gitigit*, lesser captains. There is no formal procedure for conferring such a title, but a man is generally recognized as a *palū* when he has successfully taken a canoe on a round trip to another island. He will not try this until he has studied the lore of navigation with an accredited navigator, and taken several trips as a member of the crew.

There were six recognized *palū* on Ifalik during our stay: Totogoeiti (Tom); Magaleisei, Tom's brother; Iregemar; GauaisIg, an old man; and the chief Paliuilimar, who died during our stay, was said by Tom to rank lower than the others. He was definitely a *palū gitigit*. But of them all Tom was apparently the only one likely to be called *palū e lap*. In addition to these, several others had made some progress in the art, without yet being recognized as *palū*.

The position of *palū* is the most honored one a man can attain by his own merit and effort. The *palū* is higher in general esteem than the sennap or canoe carpenter; higher also than the *tau bwongbwong* or oracle of the gods. He is outranked only by the chiefs; and chieftainship, being hereditary, is an ascribed status, while recognition as navigator is achieved. But the title of *palū* does not confer any tangible advantages, or any precedence except aboard a sailing canoe or in conversations about seafaring."

1: Burrows--65-66 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 773 Ifalik

"The lore of navigation, like the similarly specialized and restricted knowledge of canoe-building, gains dignity and authority from myth, wherein its origin is attributed to gods. Befitting its position as the most esteemed of these specialties, navigation has not one myth [66] but several. Tattooing might make the same claim, since that art is ascribed to the god Wolfat, who is also the hero of several other tales. But tattooing is mentioned in only one of the Wolfat tales, and that apparently a minor or restricted one; for the chiefs, in giving Wolfat tales to Spiro, did not include the one about tattooing. The myths about navigation, however, all focus on that special lore. Navigation has, too, a greater number of gods than any other specialty. And these gods are owners or rulers of particular islands. One of the islands is supposedly on earth, near Puluwat; but the largest and most fertile part of it is underground. Another one or more are in the sky."

1: Burrows--66 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 502, 173 Ifalik

"In beginning one of his greatest favors to me, that of imparting the lore of navigation or 'talk for cap'n', Tom gave a sketchy genealogy of the gods of navigation. Aluluei is the oldest and the only one with any distinctive physical attributes. He has four eyes, two in his face like those of mortals, and two in the back of his head. With the eyes in the back of his head he can see any dangers that threaten the navigators under his care.

Aluluei has three brothers: Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
Farewai

He has also four sons: Paluelap
Farewai
Valur, later known as Sagol
Wëriëng

When asked about the name Farewai, which occurs both as that of a brother of Aluluei and as that of a son, Tom said that the son was a different Farewai. That may be the traditional version. Yet he did not seem to have this genealogy very clearly in mind, and may have made a mistake. If so, I probably made another in questioning him immediately. It may have put him on the defensive, in which case, he might try to justify what he had said rather than correct it. (In one of the myths, Farewai teaches weather lore to Longolap and Langorlk, whom Tom there called his 'nephews').

Paluelap, elder son of Aluluei, went to Ponape and took a wife there. Her name is no

longer remembered. They had two sons: Longolap
Longorlk
and a daughter, whose name also is no longer remembered. In fact one of the characteristics of this lore about a man's occupation is that none of the women mentioned in it have names."

1: Burrows--66-67 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

"The myths in Tom's 'talk for cap'n' follow, in the order in which he gave them. In one or two places, as noted in parenthetical comment, some other order would seem more logical. Indeed, the whole episode of magical canoe-building by Seilangi, god of shipwrights, seems to belong with the lore of canoe carpentry rather than that of navigation. If Tom [67] had been asked, it may be that he would have accepted such changes. But it seemed that a more accurate picture of native thinking would be given by not questioning his original version, thus giving native tradition precedence over a foreigner's notion of logic."

1: Burrows--67-73 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik 1-11

"1. How the Lore of Seamanship Came to Ifalik

The god Aluluei came to Bwénnap, an island of sand with one wutu tree growing on it. Bwénnap can be seen from Puluwat. He took a wife there, and they had two sons and a daughter. The older boy was called Longolap, the younger LongorIk.

Underneath Bwénnap is a large, populous place, of which Aluluei is chief. A sister of his also lives there.

Aluluei, who was the greatest of navigators, began to teach his lore to his sons. One day Longolap came to his father and said he wanted to take a wife. Aluluei objected, because if Longolap were to marry, he would spend too much time with his wife, when he should be listening to the lore of seamanship. But Longolap was set on marrying, and finally had his way. After that, he spend [sic] a great deal of time with his wife, and did not come back and listen to his father for many days. At last he came again, but only learned a little bit.

LongorIk, the younger son, did not want to marry. He stayed with his father, and learned all about seamanship.

One day LongorIk told his father he wanted to cut a breadfruit tree and make himself a canoe. He took his adz and went out in the land below Bwénnap, where there were plenty of trees of all kinds.

On the way to the breadfruit grove LongorIk met Longolap.

'Where are you going?'

'I am going to the grove to cut a breadfruit tree, to make myself a canoe.'

'I'll go along and help you.'

So they went together to the grove, selected a tree, felled it, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

In the morning they returned, only to find the tree standing, with all the chips back in place, and nothing to show that any work had been done on it. They felled it again, and worked all day hewing it into shape. By evening they had the job well along. Then LongorIk went home to his father, and Longolap back to his wife.

Aluluei asked LongorIk 'Is your canoe nearly finished?'

'Yes.'

On the third morning LongorIk set out again, but this time Longolap did not go with him. Coming to the tree, he found it once more standing, with nothing to show for all their work. [68]

This time LongorIk did not set about felling the tree again, but went back to his father. He said to Aluluei:

'Isn't there something about the lore of seamanship that you haven't told me?'

'What makes you think that?'

'Why, every day we fell a tree and work away hewing it to shape. When we go back in the morning, there it is standing, with nothing to show that it ever felt the edge of an adz.'

'Oh! So that's it! Tell me, did you see a bird while you were working?'

'Yes.'

'Well, you go back and get to work again, and when you see the bird, talk to it.' And Aluluei told his son how to greet the bird.

LongorIk went back to the grove, felled the tree again, cut off a length of four fathoms, and was hard at work hewing it to shape when the bird flew toward him, uttering the high trilling sound that gods make.

LongorIk greeted the bird with the prolonged cry his father had taught him: 'Va irōu!'

At this the bird changed to the form of a man. It was Seilangi, god of canoe carpenters.

'Oho! That's better!', the god said. 'I think you didn't know me before. Who told you who I am?'

'It was my father, Aluluei.'

'Very well. Go back and tell your family that the canoe is all finished.'

So LongorIk went and told his family.

'Finished so soon?' Aluluei asked him.

'Yes.'

So Aluluei told the women to plait a pandanus mat sail for the canoe. Meanwhile

1: Burrows--67-73 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

Seilangi summoned his people, the ants. They finished the canoe in one day, mast and all, except for the sail, and carried it into the water.

When LongorIk came and saw his fine new canoe, Seilangi asked him:

'Is the sail finished?' [69]

'All finished.'

'Bring it along.'

So LongorIk brought the sail, and it was quickly bent on.

Then LongorIk told his family to make him plenty of food. He said to his father:

'I want to go to your land, Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei.)

'Very well. But take care! You will come to a place where they eat people. Follow my instructions exactly. When you come close to shore, and a man asks you 'Shall I anchor your canoe for you?', don't let him do it! Anchor it yourself. Then when they show you fresh water to bathe in, you will see two pools. One has fine, clear water, the other has dirty water. Be sure to bathe in the dirty water.

'Another thing: before you go to sleep, cut pieces of white coconut meat and tuck them under your eyebrows. Then when someone comes and looks at you he will see a gleam like the whites of your eyes, and will think you are wide awake. And finally, while you are there you must ask the people for a big stone that belongs to me.'

But before LongorIk was quite ready to go, his brother Longolap came to him and said:

'Don't you go this time! Let me go first. You can come later.'

So LongorIk let his elder brother take the canoe and go first.

Longolap set out. He only knew a little bit. But he got to the Sands of Aluluei, and there found his father Aluluei, who had come by magic, sitting under the lone wutu tree that grows there. Seilangi had come along, too, in the form of a sandpiper.

Longolap chanted the chant he had learned, to bring his canoe safe home, and set out on the return voyage. He came to another island. As he drew near shore, a man called out to him:

'What are you doing here?'

'I am going to the land of Aluluei.'

'Whose son are you?'

'Aluluei's son.'

'Very well. Let me take your anchor rope, and I will anchor your canoe.'

Longolap, who had not heard his father's instructions, let the stranger take the rope. The man tied it about a big mweial shell under the water. [70]

Longolap went ashore to the Men's House. A man asked him if he wanted to bathe, and offered to show him fresh water. He and his sailors went with the man, who showed them two pools, one of fine, clear water, and the other of dirty water. Since he only knew a little bit, and had not heard his father's instructions, he bathed in the fine, clear water.

Then Longolap came back to the men's house. Tired after their voyage, he and his men were soon asleep. While they were sleeping, the men of that land came upon them, seized them, and put them into the rounded end of the house, where the roof overhangs. They had this walled off like a separate room. They did not kill Longolap and his men. But the one who had anchored the canoe went and unfastened it, took it out to sea, set it adrift, and then returned.

Back home in Bwennap, LongorIk worried about his brother and wanted to go and find him. For that he needed another canoe. He went into the woods, thinking over his problem, and there met Seilangi.

'Do you want another canoe? '

'Indeed I do. '

'Well, just go back and tell your people to make the sail. '

LongorIk told his people, while Seilangi and his ants finished the canoe in one day, as before, and put it into the water. When the sail was bent on, LongorIk came and told his people to prepare plenty of food for the journey.

He sailed to the Sands of Aluluei, and there was his father waiting for him.

LongorIk and his sailors came ashore, tired and hungry. LongorIk said to his father: 'We want something to eat. '

Aluluei said: 'Look about this land. There are no coconut trees here, no taro. How can you eat? '

Longorlk answered: 'You find something.'

So Aluluei talked to his people underground, as if on the telephone. The women down there got together wot and pulax. The men climbed trees and got coconuts. They brought a great feast for Longorlk, then went back under the sands.

Longorlk said to his father: 'I want to go and find my brother Longolap.'

'Very well. Go. But do not forget any of the things I told you!'

'I won't forget.' [71]

Longorlk sailed on and came to land. He went through the pass into the lagoon and was nearing shore when the man who had deceived his brother called out:

'Give me a rope so I can anchor your canoe!'

'No, you go back ashore', Longorlk replied. 'I'll take care of the anchor.'

And he tied his canoe to a coconut tree.

He went into the Men's House, and the men of that place asked him 'What did you come here for?'

'I came for the big stone that belongs to my father, the stone of Aluluei. Is it here?'

'Yes. It is here.'

'I'd like to go and bathe.'

'You'd better let some of us show you where.'

Some of the men guided him and his crew to the water. They urged them to bathe in the fine, clear water, but Longorlk refused, and he and his men bathed in the dirty water.

Then they went back to the Men's House.

Longorlk told his sailors not to go to sleep yet. He had them prepare coconut meat and put it under their eyebrows, so that when they had to go to sleep that night, the people would think they were awake. The men of the place came during the night, but thinking they were awake, did not attack them.

In the morning Longorlk told the people he wanted to go back home.

'Can you bring me my father's stone?'

'Yes, but it will take all of us, men, women, and children, to haul it. It is very heavy.'

'Well, if you'll bring it to the shore today, I'll go tomorrow.'

So the people went into the interior and tugged and heaved at the stone. They could barely move it; but they kept at it, inching it along toward the shore.

When they were all at work, Longorlk went back to the Men's House. He hewed through the wall that closed off the rounded end, and found his brother and the crew that had come with him.

Longolap muttered drowsily 'What are you doing? I want to sleep.'

'Are you sleeping or are you dead?' [72]

'Just sleeping.'

'Well, you'll be dead if you stay in here much longer!'

He took them all to his canoe, untied the mooring line, and put out to sea, leaving the people of that land tugging and heaving at the big stone.

When they came to the Sands of Aluluei, LongorIk went ashore and talked to his father.

'Did you bring your brother back?'

'Yes.'

'You see, it's just as I told you. Longolap doesn't know the lore of seamanship. He only knows a little bit.'

'Let's go back home now.'

So LongorIk went back to Bwénnap, taking his brother with him in the canoe, while Aluluei went back by magic, and was waiting for them when they arrived.

They came ashore, and Longolap went to his wife. LongorIk, who had no wife, went home to his father.

(The episode that follows seems quite distinct from the story of Longolap and LongorIk. Logically, it might well precede that story. But Tom gave it as the conclusion to what has gone before.)

One day, early in the morning, a canoe came to Bwénnap. It was a big canoe, but had no sail. It was propelled by paddles. In it were three gods: Valur, god of fish; Wĕriĕng, god of birds; and Segur, god of navigators.

Aluluei's daughter, who was bathing, saw the canoe coming and ran to her father, asking that food be prepared for the travelers. But the canoemen kept on paddling. The canoe seemed about to pass the island without stopping.

The girl picked up a tiny coconut, no bigger than her fist, held it up, and called out to them to come.

'What for ? '

'I want to go with you. I'll bring a coconut for you to drink.'

'All right. Bring it along.'

She waded out to the canoe with her coconut. When they saw the tiny thing, they said 'That is not enough.'

'Drink it anyway', the girl answered. [73]

One of the men in the canoe took the little nut and began to drink. He drank and drank until he had had all he could hold, but there was plenty of water left in it. He passed it to the next man, and so it went around, until all had drunk their fill. And still there was plenty of water left in the nut.

The three gods laughed with pleasure to find that the little coconut would hold so much water.

'Climb into the canoe', they told the girl. She got aboard.

They spread a chart before her.

'You see that? We are very grateful to you for bringing us that coconut, so we will let you have our chart. Look here. See all the islands? See all the birds? See all the fish? Take this, and give it to your father.'

The girl went back to Aluluei with the chart, and the canoe paddled on out of sight.

'What is this?' the girl asked her father when he had spread it out before him. 'I don't understand it.'

Aluluei understood it well, and was overjoyed to see it. Though he was a great navigator, there was much information here that he did not know. It had all the lore of seamanship: the positions of all the islands, and all the birds and fish that a navigator would see in voyaging from one to another.

Aluluei summoned the famous navigator Paluelap.

'Come look at this chart!'

Paluelap took it. He too could understand all that it revealed.

'Tell the people all that is on there. Teach them the lore of seamanship.'

So Paluelap began to teach the people. Many did not understand, but there were some who did. Thus the lore of seamanship became known in Bwennap. From there it spread to Puluwat and Souk. There it was learned by men from Satawan. From Satawan it came to Lamotrek, and so to Ifalik and Woleai and Faraulep.

That is how the lore of seamanship first came to Ifalik."

"2. Why Valur Changed His Name to Sagol

Wëriëng went from Bwénnap, where there was hardly any food except coconuts, to Truk, to get food for his wife. His brother Valur went with him. Now Valur had been carrying on a stealthy love affair with Wëriëng's [74] wife. So when they were out of sight of land, Wëriëng threw Valur overboard and sailed on, thinking he had got rid of him.

But Valur found a piece of floating bamboo, crawled inside it, and used it as a canoe to get back to Bwennap. He hid in his house, letting the people think he was in Truk.

Wëriëng got a supply of breadfruit, taro, and red turmeric paint, and came back to Bwennap. He told the people Valur had taken sick and died on the way to Truk, and that he had buried him at sea.

Wëriëng stayed four days in Bwénnap. While there he prepared an offering of food for Iolau, a god of navigators. Iolau makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his seven kinds of fish: trep, tak, igolau, atek, lipëre, gus, and apap. But Wëriëng knew a song to sing over the food, which would cause the god to take the curse off it, so that it could be eaten safely.

During the preparations for the feast, Valur got into a big food bowl, a fathom or more in length. Some women who were in the secret piled mashed taro over him, and brought the bowl to Wëriëng's house.

1: Burrows--73-74 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

Wëriëng dipped his finger into the bowl, and Valur bit him.

'I'm not dead! ' he shouted. 'Here I am! '

With that he stood up. Thus all the people knew that Wëriëng had lied when he said that Valur was dead. Wëriëng was shamed before the people.

Valur, in his anger, left Bwennap and came to Satawan, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Aurupik, Woleai and Ifalik.

He changed his name to Sagol, the name of the kind of bamboo he had used for a canoe when Wëriëng threw him overboard at sea."

1: Burrows--74-76
116, 502, 539

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-3

"3. The Overconfidence of Longolap

Farewai understands the east and the west. By looking either at the morning sky in the west, he can forecast the weather--clouds, winds, rain, or fair weather. He taught this knowledge to his nephews, Longolap and LongorIk. Longolap only learned a little bit, but LongorIk learned everything.

LongorIk looked in the east and saw bad weather coming. Longolap looked in the west, and thought he saw fine weather. So in spite of his brother's warning, he put out to sea. A typhoon came, with torrents of rain, and broke in the hull of his canoe. Longolap was not drowned, but swam beside the wreck.

LongorIk looked at the sky and saw fine weather coming. So he made a big canoe. Then he took 2,000 coconuts, loaded the canoe with them, and went to look for his brother. His father, Paluelap, went with him. [75]

After a while they caught sight of Longolap, swimming beside the wreck of his canoe. They tied the 2,000 coconuts together, making a floating drydock of them. On this they placed the wreck of Longolap's canoe, and thus repaired it well enough so that he could make his way home in it.

LongorIk said to his brother 'See? What did I tell you?'

Longolap followed his brother's canoe back to their home. When they got there, Paluelap and LongorIk told Longolap he had better stay ashore thereafter. But he said

1: Burrows--74-76 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
~~116~~, 502, 539 Ifalik

'No. I want to find the place where Aluluei lives.'

So he set forth again. He found the Sands of Aluluei. But there are two islands by that name. One is where Aluluei lives. The other is inhabited solely by sandpipers, who spend their time singing for the god. It was the island inhabited by sandpipers that Longolap found. When he saw that his grandfather Aluluei was not there, he went on.

There is an enormous taro growing in the ocean that belongs to Aluluei. A number of little taros grow close around it. Longolap came to this, and tried to get one of the little taros to eat. But in order to do this, it is necessary to sing a certain song, and Longolap did not know the song. So the ants of Aluluei bit him when he tried to pull the taro. He tried again and again, but at last had to give up.

Then for a long time Longolap saw no land, and had no food to eat. At last he came to a lone coconut tree, growing in the midst of the ocean. This, too, belongs to Aluluei. But in order to climb it a man must sing a certain song; and Longolap had not learned the song. So he could not climb the tree. Some of his sailors starved to death.

Again LongorIk came to the rescue and found him.

'What are you doing out here? You've been away from home a long time.'

At last Longolap had to admit that he did not know all he needed to know to succeed at seafaring.

'Come with me', said LongorIk. They came to the taro growing in the sea. LongorIk sang the proper song, pulled some of the little taros, and they had food to eat.

1: Burrows--74-76 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 502, 539 Ifalik

They went on and came to the lone coconut tree. Again LongorIk sang the proper song, climbed the coconut tree, and they had ripe nuts to eat and young ones to drink.

LongorIk said 'Follow me. I'll show you the way home.'

But Longolap, now that he was well fed, had regained his confidence in himself. He said 'No. You go where you please. I know the way.' [76]

LongorIk sailed directly home. Longolap cruised about on the sea for four months, and could not find the way. He and his sailors were so famished they could not walk.

Once more LongorIk came and found him. 'I will show you the way. If you do not follow me you will die.' And Longolap, once more driven to admit his ignorance, agreed and followed his brother.

When they reached home, LongorIk waded ashore. But Longolap and his men had to be carried."

1: Burrows--76-77 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 539 Ifalik 1-3

"This is not the place for a systematic analysis of these myths as examples of folklore. But a few striking characteristics are worth noting, if only to suggest some of the possibilities of such an analysis.

For one, the tales are developed to a considerable extent by repetition of incidents, one of the commonest devices in folk-tales. Examples of repeated incidents are: the tree twice restored after being felled and hewn; the two canoes built for LongorIk by Seilangi and his ants; the several voyages of LongorIk in search of Longolap; the anchoring of the canoe, choice of pools for bathing, and use of coconut meat to simulate whites of the eyes, on the cannibal island; the two visits to the huge taro and lone coconut that grow by themselves in the sea; and even such little phrases as the one about LongorIk knowing everything about navigation, while Longolap only knew a little bit.

One of the incidents in the first myth is widely distributed in Oceania, --the repeated restoration of the hewn tree by a god until he is properly placated, whereupon he builds a canoe out of the tree with miraculous speed. Frequently, as here, the god appears first as a bird. Beckwith, in 'Hawaiian Mythology' (pp. 272-3) notes the occurrence of this incident nearly everywhere in Polynesia; in one island generally classed as Melanesian (Mota of the Banks group); and in one Indonesian tribe (The Dyaks of Borneo). Probably several other incidents, such as the inexhaustible drinking nut, are also widespread.

In the story of Longolap and LongorIk, it is the younger child who is successful. This motif, 'youngest child successful', is world-wide. One variant of it is the incident of Cinderella and the glass slipper. Is this a piece of wish-fulfilment fantasy, a solace for younger children who are relegated to an inferior role? Such questions are easy to ask, but hard to answer with anything more trustworthy than a guess. A method of reaching rigorous scientific answers to such questions has yet to be developed.

Another outstanding characteristic of the two tales (or two variants of one tale?) about Longolap and LongorIk is that they serve to point a moral. This puts them in the category of fables, like those of Aesop. The moral here, or course, is: Don't let a woman distract you from your study of navigation.

Finally, all these myths have an inconsistency and shiftiness that give them a dream-like character. This shows up especially in comparison of [77] the myths with the 'genealogy', if it deserves the name, of the gods of navigation. In the genealogy Longolap and LongorIk are grandsons of Aluluei. In the myth they are his sons. In the genealogy Wëriëng and Valur are sons of Aluluei. In one of the myths they are strange gods from afar, who bring Aluluei the chart containing all the fine points about navigation. The other strange god does not appear in the genealogy at all.

The peculiar characteristics of the island Bwennap reappear in the other island called 'Sands of Aluluei'. Both are sandy islands, with only one wutu tree growing on them. But underground, in both of them, is a large and populous realm, abounding with all useful plants. Bwénnap is given a location in the Pacific. The Sands of Aluluei and the unnamed cannibal island are not located; but from Tom's statement that the gods of navigation live in a special part of the sky, I suppose that these islands may be thought of as in the sky. Yet canoes can reach them from Bwénnap.

Such inconsistencies and vaguenesses are of course not uncommon in folklore. The 'genealogy' looks a little like an attempt to pull the myths together and give them consistency; but if so, it is a very sloppy job. Evidently the custodians of these myths--that is, the navigators of Ifalik and the islands about--never got together and worked out an official, consistent version of them, as the priests of various other lands have done with their traditions.

After all, the myths serve what seems to be their main purpose without being precise and consistent. That purpose is to give the lore of navigation the dignity of divine origin. This wins respect for the lore of navigation and gives confidence in the navigators. Presumably the special connection of the navigators with the gods helps to preserve discipline aboard ship."

1: Burrows--77-78
116, 502, 782

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-5

"Songs for Divine Guidance

Seven songs were dictated by Tom as part of the navigator's lore. They seem to be both prayers and incantations, if we define prayer as an appeal for help to a divine being, and incantation as a song thought to have magical power in itself. Each song is accompanied by a bit of ritual, which reinforces its meaning as gesture reinforces the meaning of ordinary speech. But these are not mere optional gestures. They are essential to the proper utterance of the song. This seems to give them the character of magic, credited with power in itself, rather than of religion, appealing to an outside power. Yet the ritual can well be thought of as obeisance appropriate to an appeal, like a bow or salute to a human superior. It is my impression that the natives do not make the distinction between the two, but regard this behavior both as what we call magic and as what we call religion.

The texts of the songs will be given in the study of native art. One of them is an appeal to Sautā, a god not mentioned in the myths, for wisdom. [78] He is asked to illuminate the navigator's mind by lighting a fire within him. As he sings this, the navigator rubs over his chest sand, mixed with sea water taken from the point where land and water meet. A similar song, using the same figure of lighting a fire but not naming any particular deity, is uttered while cutting off the bud end of a coconut and mixing the juice with leaves of *aro*.

1: Burrows--77-78 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 502, 782 Ifalik

A third song, which Tom said was particularly advanced and hard to get, is intended to lighten the canoe so it will stay afloat. It invokes Loulemwau, whom Tom called 'god of the canoe.' It is sung while the navigator, holding a ripe coconut in its husk, bound about with a strip of coconut leaf, wades around his canoe, tapping the hull at the waterline with the coconut.

An appeal for fair weather is sung to the god Wëriëng. To sing this, the captain goes aboard with a piece of white young coconut leaf. This he taps against the sail as he sings, then ties bits of it to all the lines of the rigging.

Before the mast is set up, it is swept with a strip of white leaf, while the navigator sings a song to Ilekerēp, god of the sea-lanes, asking him to bring the canoe safe to its port. A similar appeal for the return voyage is sung as the mooring line is untied from a tree, and rubbed back and forth against the landward side of the tree. In this song Soupalélé, god of the navigator, is asked to anchor the canoe in the woods, in the center of the home island.

Far the longest and most comprehensive of the songs was described by Tom as his own special prayer for success at sea. It had been given by one of the gods of navigation--he did not know which one--to a navigator of ancient times, and handed down to his pupils from generation to generation ever since.

This song invokes not one god but a multitude of them, running up the number in a final stanza from one hundred to ten thousand. It appeals for most of the gifts asked separately in the other songs: wisdom in seamanship, divine guidance of the canoe, strength and health for the navigator, fair weather, and shortening the distance between Ifalik and Woleai. As he begins singing it the navigator ties about his wrist a strip of white coconut leaf. He drinks a coconut for the gods, and offers a piece of taro and an umule fish."

1: Burrows--78-79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 532 Ifalik

"An illustration in Damm's report shows two images, presumably collected by Sarfert, which are said to be used for weather magic. The heads, bodies and arms are carved of wood in stylized human form. One of them is double, with heads and bodies facing both ways. The single one has a disproportionately large penis. Instead of legs and feet they have bases, apparently of some plastic material, in which are embedded long, slender prongs--the text calls them Rochenstacheln, spines or thorns--on which the images apparently stand; three of them for the single image, four for the double one. Strips of coconut leaf are tied about the arms, and about the body of the single [79] image. They are said to be vangvang (? Dann uses bangwang for 'prayer', but it ordinarily means any gift) of the god Aluluei. The double figure taken with the statement that Aluluei has four eyes, suggests that this may be an image of him. It was apparently to some such objects that Tom was referring when he said that a navigator may have an object or image which has power like that of the songs to help him on his voyages. He had none himself, and said there was none on Ifalik when we were there."

1: Burrows--79 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 821 Ifalik

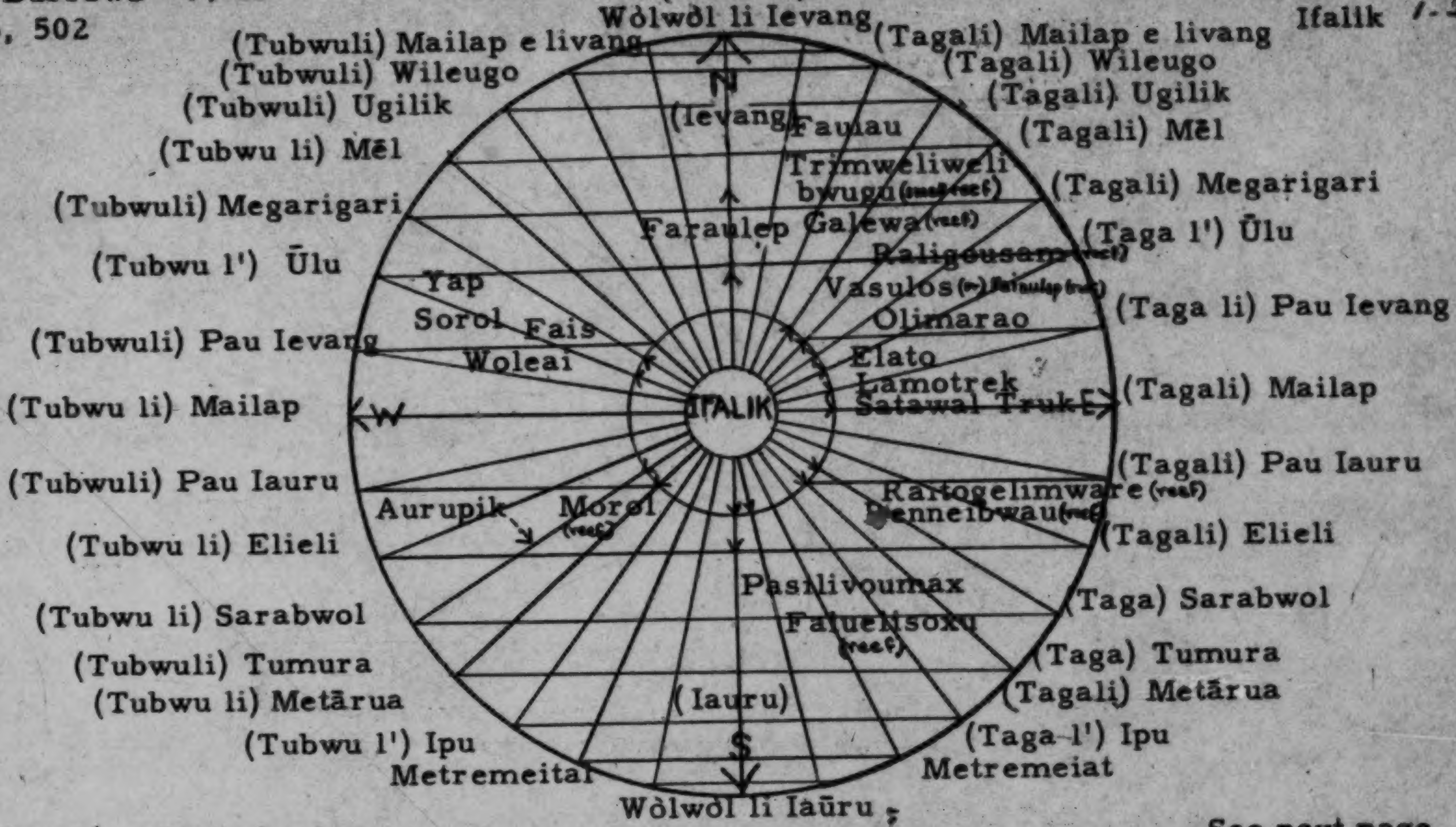
"For some reason, Sarfert was told that the old lore of navigation had been mostly forgotten. But the two best navigators of Ifalik were away at the time. He did collect names and positions of 28 stars, which correspond fairly well to the 32 given me; and some other details. However that may be, Tom had a remarkable amount of 'talk for cap'n' in his memory. The supernatural part of it has been given. What we would consider the practical part follows. Even this has many details that seem to us fantastic and impossible; notably the bits about sighting particular birds and fish at particular places. Some of the guiding stars named for certain islands, even, are not accurate, according to our charts. Yet conceivably they may serve the purpose, for some reason of wind or current. It is noticeable that the directions have not the vagueness and inconsistency of the myths. At any rate, canoes are able to reach neighboring islands most of the time, though being lost at sea is unquestionably one of the people's haunting fears. Directions for more distant points are little used and may be more dubious.

Fig. 16 shows the positions of the stars used for navigation in Ifalik; of the nearer islands and reefs; and a few of the more important ones at greater distances. Tom gave them to me from memory, but with a compass before us; and I wrote them down on sheets of paper with circles drawn on them like those on Figure 16, marked to show the points of the compass. This kind of notation was suggested to me by Tom's occasional use of English terms for points of the compass. He approved it, and at times supervised my notations closely, so far as directions are concerned."

1: Burrows--79-A
116, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-2


Wòlwòl li Ievang
(Tubwuli) Mailap e livang
(Tubwuli) Wileugo
(Tubwuli) Ugilik
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(Tubwuli) Megarigari
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(Tubwu li) Mailap
(Tubwuli) Pau Iauru
(Tubwu li) Elieli
(Tubwu li) Sarabwol
(Tubwuli) Tumura
(Tubwu li) Metārua
(Tubwu l') Ipu
Metremeitai
(Tagali) Mailap e livang
(Tagali) Wileugo
(Tagali) Ugilik
(Tagali) Mēl
(Tagali) Megarigari
(Taga l') Ūlu
(Taga li) Pau Ievang
(Tagali) Mailap
(Tagali) Pau Iauru
(Tagali) Elieli
(Taga) Sarabwol
(Taga) Tumura
(Tagali) Metārua
(Taga l') Ipu
Metremeiat
Wòlwòl li Iaūru
N
(Ievang)
Faulau
Trimweliweli bwugu (small reef)
Galewa (reef)
Faraulep
Raligousarp (reef)
Vasulos Faraulap (reef)
Olimarao
Elato
Lamotrek
Satawal
Truk
E
Yap
Sorol
Fais
Woleai
W
IFALIK
Aurupik
Morol (reef)
Rartogelimware (reef)
Penneibwau (reef)
Pasilivoumax
Faluelisoxu (reef)
(Iauru)
S

"Fig. 16. -Star chart."

See next page.

1: Burrows--79-A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 502 Ifalik

"Fig. 16. -Star chart. Names outside the circle are those of stars used in navigation. *Taga* means 'rises'; *tubwu,* 'sets'; *li* being the definite article. Horizontal lines indicate the paths of the stars across the sky. Inside the circle, the two words in parentheses indicate the most clearly conceived cardinal directions: (Ievang) north, (Iauru) south. Names inside the circle and not in parentheses are those of islands or reefs said to be reached by steering for the rising or setting points on the same radial line."

"Damm, from a sketch by Sarfert, shows positions of some stars on a rectangular figure. Undoubtedly Tom's approval of my use of circles came from his familiarity with the European compass. It is questionable whether natives unfamiliar with the compass would conceive the universe with either square or circular boundaries. What they *would* have in mind, pretty surely, is something corresponding to the horizontal lines of Figure 16, which represent the courses or paths of the stars from rising to setting. When I asked Tom what a navigator would do when his guiding star was not in sight, he said 'He must know the road for that star.' Damm, too, speaks of the road of a star *(die Bahn dieses Sternbildes)* and may be quoting, via Sarfert, a native expression.

To save space, the corresponding charts for other islands are summarized in Appendix I. This does not exhaust the lore in Tom's memory. After giving me the lists from several islands, he asked me whether I wanted them all. As the process was taking a good deal of precious time, I decided that lists from the nearest islands and from the three most important farther ones--Guam, Yap, and Truk--would do to illustrate the nature [80] of native lore and suggest the extent of it. How many more he could have given I am not sure. Perhaps not many; but I recall his speaking as if he knew a similar list from Puluwat, which seems to have been a center of particularly high development of native navigation. And probably he could have given several others.

It is noticeable that the lists from the farthest islands are the least complete and

1: Burrows--79-80 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 502, 821 Ifalik

exact. That for Guam, which because of the east-west direction of prevailing winds is the most inaccessible by sail from Ifalik, is the worst of all. Putting Europe north by west from Guam is the nadir. But in that Tom was, of course, departing from anything in native tradition. I suspect that the mistakes in locating Saipan and 'Nuta' (Rota?) from Guam are not errors in his knowledge but in his use of English. He was subject to lapses in which he would say 'south' for 'north', and vice versa. One such would account for these errors. In spite of this, the Guam list is not impressive. Yet the total amount of his memorized information, and the accuracy of a good deal of it, do speak well for native mental capacity."

1: Burrows--80
116, 821, 132, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Stars as Weather Signs

Stars are used not only to give directions, but to indicate weather. Only a few of these signs were given. They may have some validity for seasonal changes. When the star Maileu (not used as a guiding star, hence not shown in the star chart) is high in the sky before dawn, winds will be light and good for sailing. But when Maileu hangs low over the sea at dawn, and the star Sota comes up before sunrise, winds will be dangerously strong. The star Rangalieli in the east presages good weather. When the star Ul rises before dawn (this would be Tagal'ūlu of Fig. 16), it is a good time for a voyage toward the west."

1: Burrows--80-81 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-3
116, 815 Ifalik

"The following attempt to identify the guiding stars with names used in our astronomy is due to the kindness of Dr. Maud W. Makemson of Vassar College. She computed the azimuths of the stars as located by Tom according to points of the compass, and identified them as nearly as possible from such rough data. In the third column are given identifications of some of them as given by Sarfert. Several agree with those worked out by Dr. Makemson from Tom's location. Others differ slightly; for example, one of the possibilities for Pauievang is Alpha Aquilis, in Dr. Makemson's list, while Sarfert gives 'Adler' (Aquila) for the next star to the south, Mailap. Still others, such as Sarfert's 'Orion' for Ugillk as compared to Dr. Makemson's Nu Ursae Majoris, are completely incompatible. But in that case Sarfert's own identifications are inconsistent; for if Ugillk is Orion, then Elieli, half a sky away, can not be the drei Könige im Orion or Orion's belt.

Possible Identifications of Stars

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Wolwol li ievang	Polaris	Polarstern (fr. report on Faraulep) [81]
Mailap e li vang	Beta Ursae Minoris	- - - - - - - - - -

1: Burrows--80-81 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 815 Ifalik

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Wileugo	Alpha Ursa Majoris	- - - - - - - - -
	(Zeta Cassiopeiae)	
Ugillk	Nu Ursae Majoris	Orion
Mēl	Vega--Alphae Lyrae	Leier (Lyra)
Megarigari	The Pleiades	
	(Pollux Beta Geminorum)	Plejaden
Ūlu	Aldebaran-Alpha Tauri	Aldebaran
	(Arcturus-Alpha Bootis)	
Pauievang	Betelgeuse-Alpha Orionis	
	(Altair-Alpha Aquilae)	- - - - - - - - - -
Mailap	Belt of Orion (3 stars)	Adler (Aquila)
Pauiaūru	Spica-Alpha Virginis	- - - - - - - - -
Elieli	Alpha Capricorni or	Drei Könige im Orion
	Epsilon Leporis	(Orion's Belt)
Sarabwol	(Beta Fornacis)	Rabe (Corvus)
	Fomalhaut-	
	Alpha Piscis Australis	

1: Burrows--80-81
116, 815

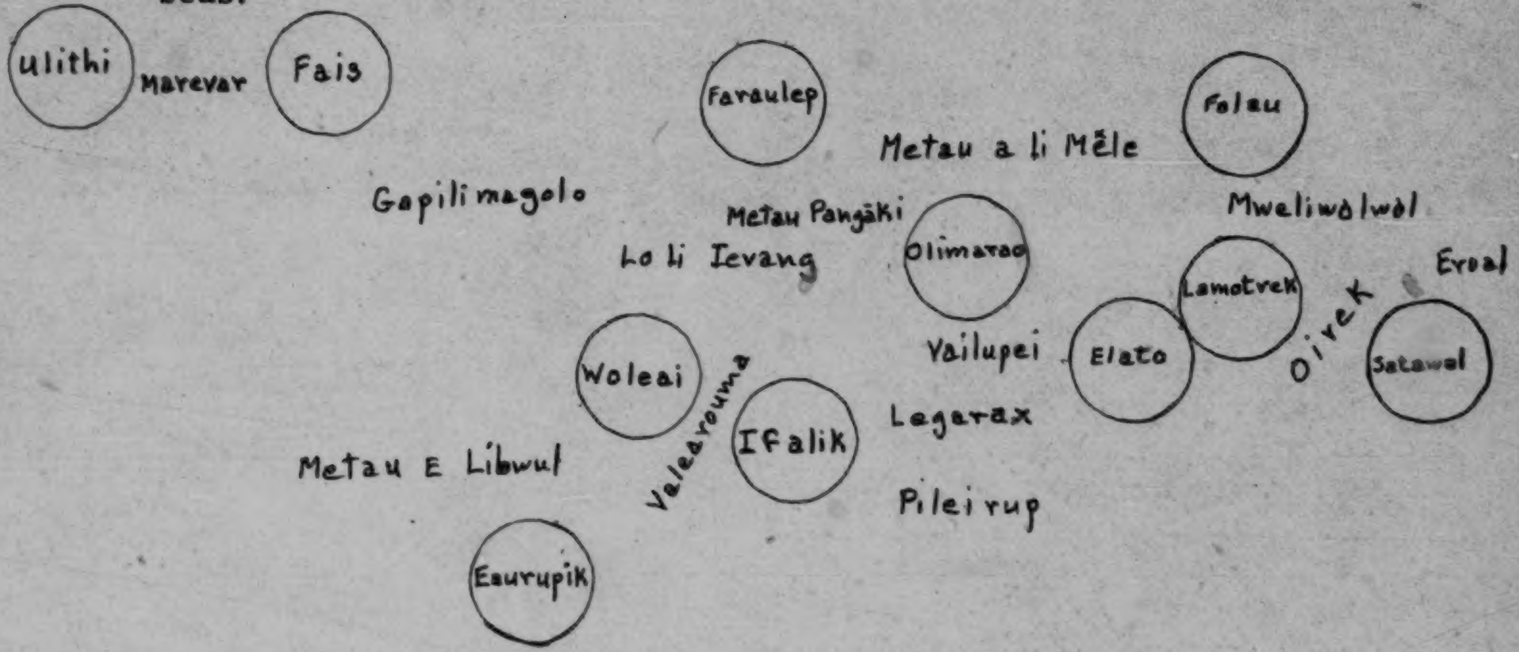
(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Native Name	Scientific Name	German Name
Tumura	Theta Scorpii or Lambda Velorum or Alpha Phoenicis	Jungfrau (Virgo)
Metārūa	Canopus-Alpha Carinae	- - - - - - - - -
Īpu	Alpha Cantauri Beta Cantauri	- - - - - - - - -
Metremeital or Metremeiat	Magellanic Clouds	- - - - - - - - -
Wo̍lwo̍l li aūru		- - - - - - - - -"

1: Burrows--81-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 102 Ifalik

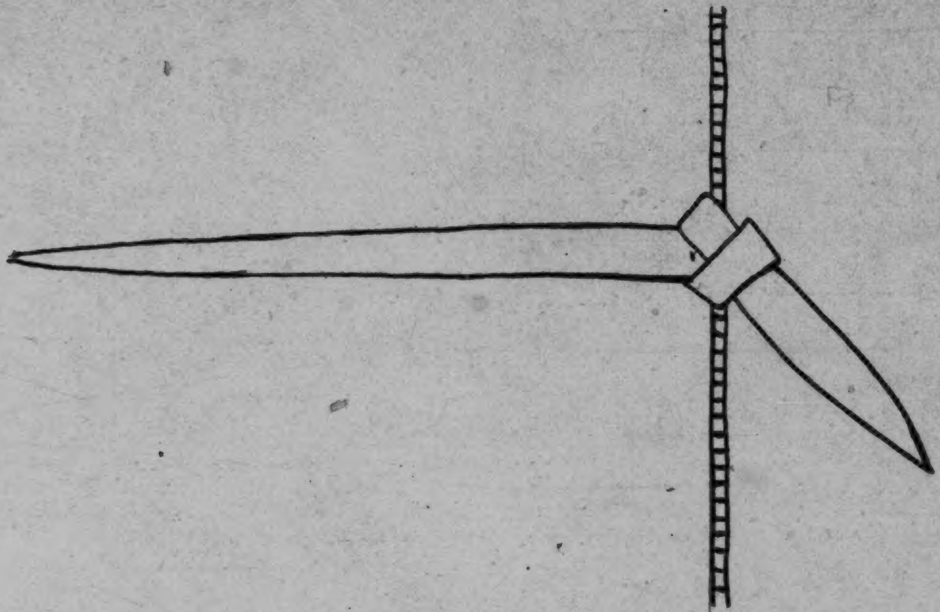
"Fig. 17. -Diagram map of the atolls about Ifalik, with native names of the interisland seas."


Ulithi
Marevar
Fais
Faraulep
Metau a li Mĕle
Folau
Gapilimagolo
Metau Pangāki
Mweliwolwol
Lo li Ievang
Olimarao
Eroal
Lamotrek
Oirek
Woleai
Valearouma
Vailupei
Elato
Satawal
Ifalik
Legarax
Metau E Libwul
Pileirup
Eaurupik

1: Burrows--81-B
116, 502

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik



"Fig. 18. -Weather vane, lowered into the water to show the direction of the current."

1: Burrows--81-82
116, 502, 823

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Lore of Currents

On any voyage, as soon as the canoe is out of the pass and far enough from the island it is leaving to be clear of currents affected by that body of land, the direction of the current in the open sea is tested. First the sheet is let go and the sail left flapping until the canoe loses headway. Then several light lines, weighted with sinkers, are lowered over [82] the sides. Each has attached to it a strip of coconut leaf, as shown in Figure 18, to act as a weather vane. The lines are lowered until these strips are far enough below the surface not to be knocked about by waves, but are still in plain sight. The current will then swing them around until the longer end points in the direction in which it is flowing. The several lines provide a check on each other, and prevent the navigator from being misled by some accident, such as a swirl of water around bow or stern, that might affect one of the vanes.

The captain then picks his course to allow for the current. If, for example, the current is flowing from north to south, he will choose a guiding star farther north than the true direction of the island he is heading for. Thus he guards against one of his great perils, --drifting off his course (mennāxo)."

"Detailed Sailing Directions

The following directions include, besides guiding stars, some further directions: a rear sight on Ifalik while it remains above the horizon; choice of guiding stars according to the current; and directions for recovering a destination which has been misled. In naming the stars in these more detailed directions, Tom omitted the prefixes tagali-or tubwuli-for rising or setting, and his example has been followed.

Ifalik to Woleai and Return

Guiding Stars-	Ulu, a little north of west. If current is flowing north, Mailap, due west; if it is flowing south, between Ulu and Mwarigari.
Rear Sight-	Keep Matolo, the channel between Falārik and Falālap, 'open'; that is, visible throughout its length. Keep the islet Ellā in such a position that 'two fathoms' of Falālap are visible to the south of it.
Birds-	If the navigator drifts off his course and 'goes to Mailap' instead of to Ulu, passing south of Woleai, he will see two small black and red birds (gerap). He must 'leave them to the south'; that is, turn north from where he sees them.

1: Burrows--82-83
116, 487, 502, 823

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

If the canoe drifts north, and goes to *Mwarigari* instead of *Ulu*, two white sea birds (*paiennai*, bigger than a fairy tern) will be seen. They must be 'left on the south.' Woleai will not be far, but it will be necessary to have a lookout climb the mast in order to see it.

If the canoe continues on a course too far to the north, after leaving the *paiennai* birds, a shark will be seen of the kind called *malrang*, of the bright red color of turmeric face-paint. Then it will be necessary to take a course a little east of south ('east half south', Tom called it). [83]

Stars for Return Trip-The star indicating the true direction is *Elieli*. If the current flows north, take a course between *Elieli* and *Mailap*; if it flows south, between *Elieli* and *Sarabwol*."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 136, 227 Ifalik

"Wild animals, particularly sea creatures, are used in more varied and ingenious ways. The skin of the fish called rel, which has a silvery gleam in some lights, is wrapped around the shanks of fish hooks to serve as a lure, usually in connection with a tuft of feathers."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 152 Ifalik

"Dogs serve mainly as pets and playthings. The play often takes the form of cruel teasing. This may serve as an outlet for pent-up aggression, a matter that belongs in Spiro's analysis of personality."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 492, 281 Ifalik

"In the use made of animals, as in so many other respects, the culture of Ifalik is simple and rather narrowly specialized. Animals are used mainly for food. None of the domesticated species is adapted to use as a draught animal or in transportation. The tanning of hides is unknown, and would be of little service anyway, for leather does not keep well in that moist, warm climate."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 301 Ifalik

"Shell, both of turtles and molluscs, is cut into various ornaments: bracelets, ear-rings, pendants, necklaces, and little chains hung from holes in the ear-lobes. The Hamburg expedition collected a considerable variety of these, some of them no longer common. Disc-shaped beads in contrasting colors--white from trumpet shell, dark brown from tortoise shell--form necklaces and women's belts. A simple bow drill, nowadays tipped with steel, is used to perforate the shell. The discs are cut out by twirling between the hands a long-handled steel gouge. The belts are made of four to six strands of beads, the white shell forming a variety of rectilinear patterns against the background of dark turtle-shell. Most of the belts worn on Ifalik come from Eaurupik, which makes a specialty of this craft."

1: Burrows--83A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 224 Ifalik

"Dogs are not used in hunting. There is hardly anything to hunt except rats. The dogs hunt these on their own, but not very effectively. Apparently the cats do better at it. Rats are also caught in simple box traps with trap doors tripped by a tug on the bait. These are not much used. Spring traps bought in trade are preferred."

1: Burrows--83A
116, 231, 301, 227

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A necklace made of dogs' teeth is shown in one of Damm's illustrations. These are not now common; I saw none. About the only part of a domestic animal that is in common use, except for food, is feathers. A rooster's long tail feathers effectively top off a male dancer's head-dress. Tufts of smaller feathers are lashed to fish hooks for a lure. None of these uses of domestic animals involves any noteworthy development of technology."

1: Burrows--83A-83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 321, 227 Ifalik 1-2

"Pearl shell and turtle shell are combined in the bonito hook (pā). This is of a type widespread in Oceania. It is composed of two pieces, a pearl-shell shank and a turtle-shell point. In the thick end of the shank a hole is bored to attach the line. (As this end is nearer the fisherman when in use, it is convenient and customary to call it the proximal end.) Little grooves are cut in the sides of the distal end to hold the lashings which attach the turtle-shell point. There are two of these lashings. In a specimen collected on Ifalik, which is now in Bishop Museum, Honolulu, both lashings pass through holes in a proximal projection of the point. Damm illustrates both this type and another, which has only one hole, for the distal lashing. In this type the proximal lashing passes entirely around the projection of the point, which flares out at the [83B] end to keep the lashing from slipping off.

Local variations in attachment of point to shank on bonito-hooks have been studied by Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. Peter H. Buck). Following his lead, the writer compared types in different parts of Polynesia (Burrows 1938), and came to the conclusion that the type with two holes in a proximal projection of the point was invented in western Polynesia. Its occurrence as far west as Ifalik throws doubt on that conclusion. Fuller data from Micronesia will probably make possible a clearer reconstruction of the invention and diffusion of bonito hooks in Oceania.

The shank is shaped like the body of a small fish. This, and its pearly gleam, quite like that of a fish's skin and scales, make it a most effective lure. As Buck has pointed out, shanks can be made of different colors by grinding off more or less of the outer layers of the shell. This is done deliberately, and the fisherman chooses which hook to use according to the light at the moment, or the kind of small fry on which the bonito are feeding, or by trial and error. Three names for hooks of different colors were told to me on Ifalik: *renifār*, with yellowish lustre; alo, bluish; and *reneverale*, reddish or coppery. Damm lists four names collected by Sarfert, none of which corresponds to these. Probably both lists are correct as far as they go, but incomplete.

As an additional lure, many bonito hooks have, lashed to the distal end, a tuft of feathers or of white fibers from the roots of the plants called *guan* and *bogo li le pā*."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116/321, 202 Ifalik

"Conch shells are used as trumpets (taui). In Ifalik the hole used for a mouthpiece is made, not by cutting off the pointed end, but by drilling in one side. The long-drawn monotone of such a trumpet summons the people to public meetings, and warns off evil in several rituals. One trumpet hangs from a branch of a small dead tree stuck in the ground beside the channel between the two inhabited islands. An obvious use there would be to summon a canoe from the other side for a ferry. But I never happened to see it so used. One night when a school of bonito had been surrounded by seines, natives in canoes kept several conch shell trumpets (as well as one or two navy boatswain's whistles) sounding over the lagoon all night."

1: Burrows--83B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 412, 284, 321, 177 Ifalik

"As recently as 1909, the time of Sarfert's visit, all the adz heads were of Tridacna shell, lashed with sennit to wooden handles cut from a forked branch. In 1948 no shell adz heads were to be found. Similar handles and sennit lashing are used to attach steel plane blades."

1: Burrows--83B-83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 223 Ifalik

"Methods of capturing animals for food are varied, though mostly simple. The extreme of crudity is catching a chicken. There are no coops, and while the birds stay near the houses, they roost in trees or on rooftops, and can fly for considerable distances when alarmed. When one is doomed to be eaten, young men and children, some of them armed with sticks or stones, try to surround it or run it down. No particular skill is shown, and the process often involves a lively hue and cry. This, like a good many native activities, rates very low on any scale of efficiency, but has a high yield of fun.

More ingenious, and demanding respectable acrobatic skill, is [83C] the method of catching noddy terns. They sometimes visit the island in great numbers. At such times the men hunt them by climbing at night the coconut trees in which the terns roost, and catching them in large, light nets with short handles and round wooden rims. During our stay on the island, the terns were not considered abundant enough to repay the effort of catching them. But during our last weeks there, when we were known to be short of meat, our faithful Tom--rather along in years to be scrambling in the treetops --twice caught a brace of terms, which his wife cooked for our breakfast. Unplucked and bedraggled, they were not appetizing to look at. But they proved to be surprisingly tender and well-flavored."

1: Burrows--83C
116, 225, 262, 565

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The most prized of all meat is that of the sea turtle. The people say they are commoner on some of the other islands, notably Lamotrek and Elato, then they are on Ifalik. On some uninhabited islands they are said to abound. During the six months we were there, four of them were taken, to our knowledge; three of these within two or three days, so that they were all cut up and cooked at the same time. Turtle meat is reserved for the clan Kovalū, in which the highest chiefly title is hereditary. Others get it only when this chief deigns to distribute it to them. Except for members of this clan, and the other chiefs, a meal of turtle meat is a rare delight."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 225 Ifalik

"The easiest and most favored way of catching turtle is on land at night, when they come ashore to lay their eggs. They leave easily recognizable tracks on the beach. When found on shore, they are turned over on their backs. Then they are helpless and can be dragged at the end of a line or, with manpower enough, carried. Three of the four caught during our stay were taken in this way. The fourth was speared, we were told, by the chief WolpaitIk. How he managed to drive a spear through the shell, or whether he speared the head or a flipper, I was unable to make out. After WolpaitIk had speared it, I was told, another man dived and speared it from beneath. It is said that turtles are sometimes caught by running a noose of rope about the head and one of the fore-flippers. Tom--apparently as much for fun as anything else--once attempted to catch a turtle in the lagoon by riding it ashore. He could not guide it, and as it took him toward deep water, he gave up the attempt."

1: Burrows--83C (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 226 Ifalik

"Catching crabs is women's work. The largest and most prized variety is the coconut crab, that lives in holes about the bases of trees. It my [sic] be smoked out of the hole, or dug out with a pointed digging-stick. The people know that these crabs come out at night, and can be hunted with torches; but this way of catching them is seldom practised. Other land crabs are occasionally gathered, and several kinds of sea crabs are caught by hand on the reef at low tide."

1: Burrows--83C-83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 252, 565 Ifalik /3

"Butchering a turtle is a job performed only by the highest chief. The proper place for it is between the canoe-house called Fan ni Wong (House of the Turtle), and the neighboring homestead, Uelepi, associated with the senior lineage of the Kovalū clan. Asked, in the presence of the chiefs, whether this association of turtles with the highest chief had any religious significance, Tom rather contemptuously denied it. Yet the pattern of associating turtles with high rank, which is widespread in the Pacific, is in some places explicitly religious. As a matter of fact, Tom begrudged the Kovalū clan's [83D] monopoly on turtle, and would be inclined to belittle the privilege in any way he could. He once spoke longingly of a visit to the uninhabited islands, where a man could eat all the turtle he could catch. Yet if the reservation of turtle for Kovalū clan, and the butchering by the highest chief, was thought of as explicitly religious, he would hardly have denied it.

The high chief, Wolpetau, made one job of butchering the three turtles that were caught within a few days. Before he cut them up, the first to be caught was left on its back, alive, for three days; the second for two days; the third,for approximately one. Two of the turtles had bodies more than three feet long. The total length of each, with head and tail extended, would have been more than four feet. The third was smaller, with a body--the part within the shell--about 30 inches long. To estimate the total weight of the meat is beyond my capacity; but it must have been fully 100 pounds, perhaps two or even three times that.

The three turtles lay on their backs in the little grove between Fan ni Wong and Uelepi. The chief Wolpetau, with the aid of his adopted son Uveli, laid them side by side in shallow pits. The two built over them a hot, quick fire of light fuel, mostly dry coconut leaves; to kill them, I was told. After that, Wolpetau did all the work alone. He had for spectators, beside Uveli, two women of the household, his sister and niece; two young men, the niece's husband and another, not of the household, whose relationship is unknown to me; and a small boy of the household, the heir apparent to his title.

When the fire had burned down, Wolpetau hauled the first turtle out of the pit and carefully scraped off remaining bits of ash. Then, with a bush knife I had given him, he cut around the edge of the under shell, following a suture most of the way. At the tail he did not cut as close to the shell as possible, but straight across the base of the tail and the rectum. With this incision completed, he pried off the under shell.

Four iron pots were laid nearby when the work began. Two or three more were brought later. Pieces of each kind of meat were put into each pot, to be distributed as gifts. Three baskets, newly plaited of green coconut leaf, were ready, one for the intestines of each turtle. Several newly cut green leaves served as platters for the larger pieces of meat.

First to be removed were the slabs of muscle (*witigo terag*) overlying the fore flippers. Then the layer of green fat (*ui*) over the belly. The intestines (*tal*) were then hauled out into the basket ready for them. The fore flippers (iengal) were then neatly cut through at the joint, twisted off, and tossed on one of the open leaves. Lean meat on the lower belly (fitiu) was partly distributed among the pots, the rest thrown on the leaves. Yellow fat (sha), found here and there among the other tissues, was distributed among the pots. A big triangular piece (peral) about the base of the tail was cut in two and put on the leaves. The eggs were left in the shell. The opening of the reproductive organs was thrown away. To prevent the women from hearing, Wolpetau whispered the name of this to me so softly that I could not hear it, either. The women, the least bit ostentatiously, paid no attention.

The other turtles were now cut up in the same way. Butchering all [83E] three made a fairly strenuous afternoon's work for an elderly man. The meat in the pots was cut up and cooked by the women. The largest pieces, those laid on the open leaves, were cooked in an earth oven (um). There was enough meat this time for quite a generous distribution. Not only was one of the pots brought to us, but a small basketful was given to Tom, who ate it all himself."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Men's kinds of fishing are so numerous that probably this account does not include all that are known and occasionally practised. The list of fishing methods noted by Sarfert during his short stay on Ifalik includes several I did not hear of, --as my list includes several not in his. Having learned elsewhere about fishing with a baited hook attached to a kite flown over the water, he asked the people of Ifalik about it, and was told it was known and practised there. But we saw none of it. He was also told of catching shark with a noose, which is spread out, while a separate line run across it holds a smaller fish used for bait. No shark were caught during our stay, except for small sand-shark occasionally rounded up in seines or caught on a hook. He also lists fishing with poison as a technique learned from Yap. My question about this was answered in the negative. Ifalik has a few Barringtonia trees, whose crushed fruit is used elsewhere for fish poison. The people told me they knew of this method being practised elsewhere, but did not use it themselves. And indeed, in the absence of fresh-water streams, which make narrow channels in the fringing reef, I know of no suitable enclosed spaces in the water where the poison could be effectively concentrated."

1: Burrows--83E (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 462 Ifalik

"Fishing, which involves a greater variety of techniques and apparatus than all the rest of the food quest, is men's work; almost exclusively, but not quite. Women rummage on the reef for crabs, shellfish and any fish which may have been left in shallow pools by the outgoing tide. Another kind of fishing they do is an extension of that process. It consists of surrounding with a mat or screen of coconut leaf a slab of coral that stands in shallow water. When it is all fenced in, they move the slab. There is an incantation to lighten this work:

Gērige vaul!	Come now, stone!
Trō le gurok bweje wāje!	Like a gurok leaf, be light!
Io! Gaje vā! Eu i langēia!	Oho! Be light! Rise up!

When the fish dart out from under the slab, they are stopped by the coconut leaf barrier, and caught in dip-nets.

It is said that women also make temporary fish weirs of plaited coconut leaf, which they set out along the reef, weighting the leaves down with blocks of coral. This is apparently not a common practise, at least during the part of the year when we were there. I never saw it done. The secondary part that women play in a bonito drive will be described later."

1: Burrows--83F (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"Another method [KS: of fishing] described by Sarfert--and attested by specimens of tackle used--consists of fishing for flying-fish with double-pointed gorges. These were attached by short lines to empty coconut shells, plugged so they would stay afloat. A number of them were tossed into the water. The bobbing of the shell showed when a fish was caught on one of the gorges. Bits of young coconut leaf serve as lures, a detail not noted by Sarfert. The following incantation accompanies this fishing technique, which is called mät:

Saū a li go!	Come, flying-fish!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!
Go tami le i meraku!	Do not delay!
Gou wa li gēru a!	Come at once!
Mwa ramu gatāgei alo!	Hurry, before the sun comes up,
Tā perē la getrioú.	And the red getriou buds open.
Ngē nutu ngē nut',	Up and down swim the hooked fish,
Nutu fē li pāle	They rise to the hook,
Nutu rangē rang'.	They fly out of the water.
Trû eru ge le mwanne!	Come through the water!
Saū e li var!	Come bite my hooks!

1: Burrows--83F
116, 226, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Go tai ninge mware ru e pa.	It is not good, two pieces of white leaf.
Go ninge mware rueik.	It is in good with twenty.

Nowadays steel hooks are used instead of wooden gorges. Foreign hooks have also--so far as my observation goes--replaced two other types collected by Sarfert: simple recurved hooks of tortoise shell, and large wooden ones for shark."

1: Burrows--83F-83G (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1·3

"The native composite trolling hook is still in use. Wooden boxes with fitted lids (sawe le pā) with one or more hooks in them, were hanging up in all the canoe-houses.

Trolling for bonito has the greatest emotional appeal of any kind of fishing, to judge by the fact that 5 out of 16 fishing songs collected celebrated feats of bonito trolling. No other kind of fishing had more than two songs. Yet this kind of fishing was not once undertaken during our stay. Weather may account for this. Trolling has to be done in small canoes outside the lagoon, and is only feasible during fairly calm weather; and a good deal of the calmest weather comes during the part of the year when we were absent. Yet the people did not say that this was a seasonal kind of fishing; only that wind and sea had to be just right. Having worked in two Polynesian islands where this strenuous kind of fishing had gone out of use, I wonder whether it is on the decline in Ifalik.

Enough was learned about it to indicate that it follows the same general pattern as in Polynesia. The poles are of bamboo, most of which has to be imported. The lines, said to have been made of hibiscus bast before foreign lines were available, are about the same length as the pole. The presence of a school of bonito is often indicated by a flock of sea birds--in Ifalik the white fairy tern and the black noddy--hovering over to catch the small fry as they leap out of water to escape the bonito. The canoe paddles over the [83G] school, and the fisherman--one in the stern of each canoe--lets out his line astern, resting the pole in the forked head of the canoe or sometimes against his body. The pole is tilted at such an angle that the hook skitters along the surface of the water.

As he lets out the hook, the fisherman holds the pole with one hand, while with the other he splashes water over the lure. This throws a screen of water between the hook and the boat, so that the bonito which sees the hook will not see the boat just beyond it and be scared away. The fisherman keeps up this splashing while he is in the school, when not too busy hauling in fish.

When a fish strikes the hook, it is hauled in with one motion. The tip of the pole is raised, lifting the fish out of water, then swung around slowly, in order not to frighten away the other fish--until the fisherman is facing the bow, when he lets the fish strike against his chest, which knocks it off the barbless hook into the bottom of the boat. Failing this, the sailor sitting nearest him may remove the fish from the hook. It must be done quickly, for the canoe is only in the middle of the school for a short time, and the fisherman must make the most of that time.

Several bits of religious or magical procedure accompany this kind of fishing. Before they set out, the fishermen must bathe carefully, to remove any odor of the body or perfume of their wives or sweethearts. Once a fisherman takes a pearl-shell out of its box, he must have no contact with a woman until he has returned from fishing. As he sets out, he waves a branch of *aro*, and sings a prayer to a god, to vouchsafe him a good catch. No one god has power over bonito-trolling, but each fisherman sings to a god whom he considers favorable to him. Leaves of *aro* may be rubbed over the body and on the lure. The fisherman[sic]may adorn themselves--as men do on any social occasion--with strips of white young coconut leaf. This leaf is also displayed on the return trip as a sign of success. As will be seen later, some of these precautions and bits of ritual also accompany other kinds of fishing.

A similar kind of trolling is practised from large sailing canoes over reefs within sailing distance of Ifalik. The most frequented, called Vasulos, lies about an overnight sail from Ifalik, a little west of north. This reef is also called Faiaulap or Great Faiau. One trip there was made during our stay on the island. The catch consisted of one yellow-fin tuna, weighing perhaps 100 lbs. This was the only tuna caught during our stay, and its flesh is highly prized; yet one fish was considered hardly worth the effort of the long trip. It was also reported that the seas were breaking over the reef, so the expedition was not repeated during our stay. The time was December 6, early in the trade-wind season. Calmer seas are to be expected near the end of that season, and such expeditions may be more frequent at that time. Species commonly caught by this kind of fishing, besides yellow-fin tuna are albacore, pompano (Hawaiian ulua), and wahoo (Hawaiian ono)."

1: Burrows--83G (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Hook and line are also used for angling about coral heads in the lagoon, a method practised mostly by solitary fishermen who expect no greater catch than will make a family meal. Casting along the shore, with small hooks, is another minor kind of fishing. Occasionally, at low tide, men will cast into the surf at the outer edge of the fringing reef on the eastern side of the atoll. However, as they have no reels, and use lines not much longer than the poles, the casts are short."

1: Burrows--83H
116, 226

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

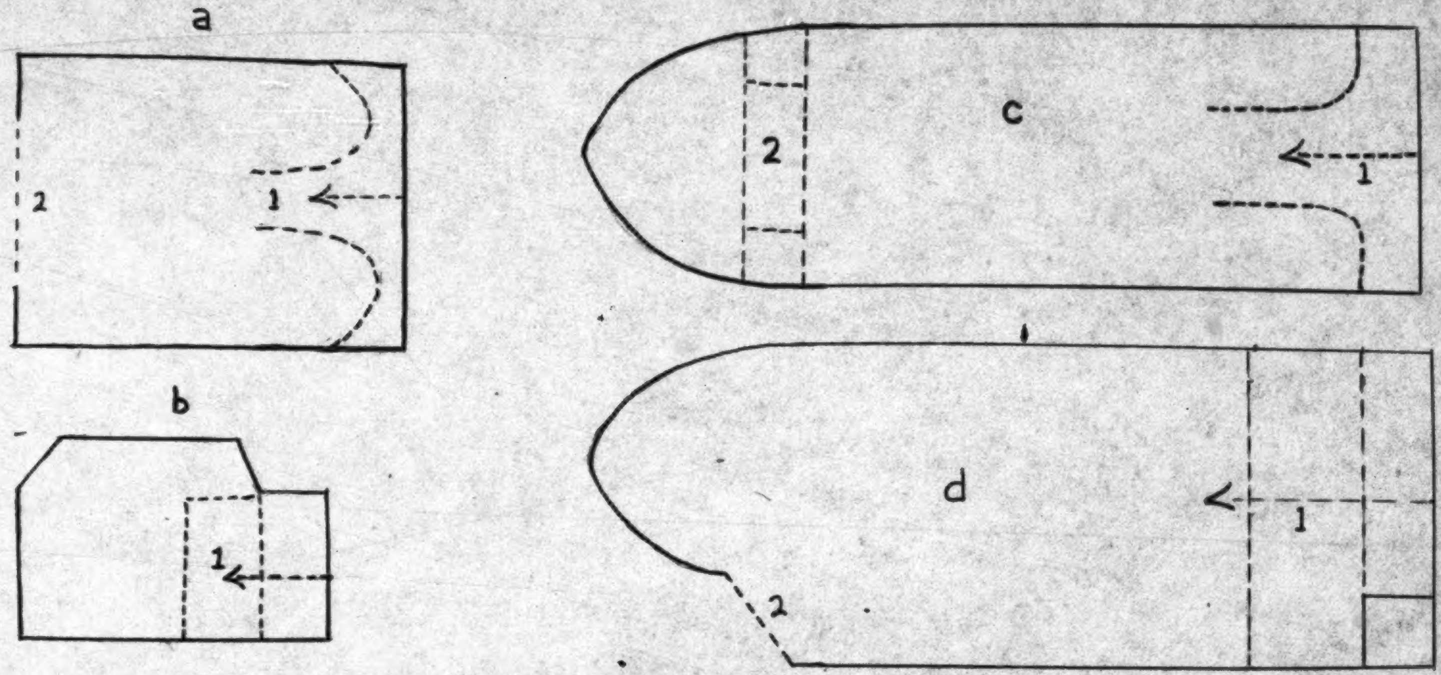
"Fish traps, (ul), are made of wattle. The frames are of light withes. Coconut leaflet midrib, commonly doubled, is used to fill in the walls. The pieces are lashed together with light sennit cord. There are two distinct sizes, differing in name and use.

The smaller traps, ul pam, average 2 or 3 feet long and 1 or 2 feet high. The general shape is diagrammed in Fig. 16a and b. These are set on the bottom in the shallow water near shore on the lagoon side. They are weighted down by pouring sand over them. Most of it sifts through, but some stays on the bottom of the trap and some on the top. It also gives the trap a natural appearance, like that of the surrounding bottom. These traps are baited with crushed crab of the small kind called ragūm. The fish most commonly caught in them is the oerIk, a fish averaging four to six inches long, schools of which appear suddenly in the lagoon, stay for a time, and then as suddenly vanish. The fish are cooked whole on green leaves laid over the usual light fire of rubbish. Before eating, they are cleaned by removing the heads, tails, skins, and the spine with entrails. Thus it takes several fish to make a mouthful. In spite of their small size they make very good eating. For over a month, beginning in mid-November and continuing through December into January, they constituted the main supply of fish. Occasionally other fish are caught in these traps. The best catch seen numbered a dozen or more fish of fairly good size, up to about a foot long. They were reef fish of various kinds, mostly parrot-fish and goat-fish.

The larger traps, ul merouā or merouel, run about six feet long, three feet wide,

1: Burrows--83H-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik 1-2

"Fig. 19. -Fish traps. a, small trap, plan; b, small trap, side elevation. c, large trap, plan; d, large trap, elevation. 1, narrow entrance; 2, door for removing fish."



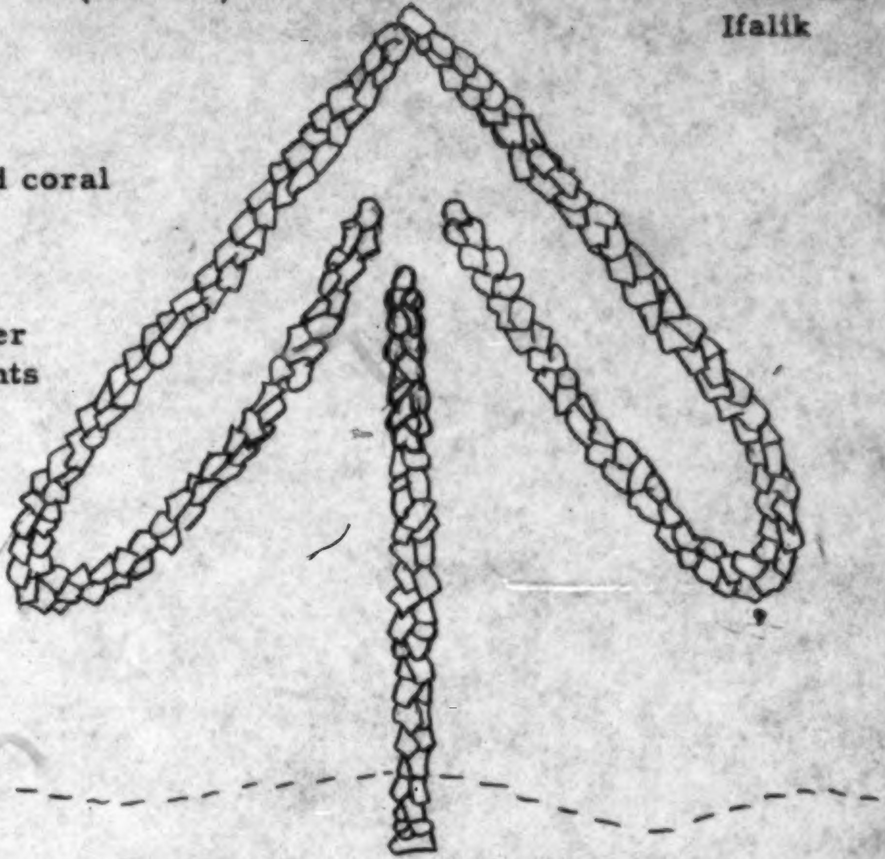
and two feet high (Fig. 19, c and d). They are carried out to sea in sailing canoes to search for drifting logs, which attract certain kinds of fish. When a log is sighted, the men dive overboard and fasten the trap to it. It is said that huge catches are sometimes made in this way, but during our stay the canoes went out day after day without so much as finding a log; and only twice did they have fair success. The largest catch reported was '200'. The largest seen numbered about 100, rather small fish, mostly of the kind called *rel*, with a few larger *fōfō*. Fish caught in this way are laid directly on the coals and broiled whole. We were warned not to put them in our frying-pan, for if we did there would be no more driftwood.

These large traps are also sometimes set on the seaward side of the reef. Tom described a bit of ritual accompanying their use. When driftwood is sighted, a half coconut shell is attached to a stick called *merouel*, and an incantation sung over it. Then stick and shell are put inside the trap. Nothing was said about bait being put in the shell."

1: Burrows--83H-B (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"Fig. 20. -Fish weir (gamei) of piled coral blocks.

The dotted line indicates high water mark on the beach. The weir points into the lagoon. Its arms are perhaps 50 feet long."



1: Burrows--83H-83I (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik 1-2

"The only kind of fishing device that is constantly in use is a permanent weir (gamei) built of blocks of coral. These are set up along the beach on the lagoon side of Falārik, --evidently the shore of Falālap is not considered suitable for them, perhaps because most of it, instead of sandy beach, is irregular, shelving more steeply, and of coarse gravel. The shape of a gamei as indicated in Fig. 20, is something like a broad arrowhead. They are made with their points away from shore. The single wall that would correspond to the shaft of the arrow extends out from approximately high water mark. The double walls, corresponding to barbs of an arrowhead, average 30 to 35 feet long. At high tide they are covered with a foot or two of water; at low tide they [83I] rise out of water from a few inches to about a foot. Fish that come close to shore at high tide, mostly by night, are expected to follow the single wall to seaward as the tide goes out, and so to be led into the V-shaped space between the double walls. When the water is below the top of the walls, they can not escape.

During our stay on Ifalik (late July to early February), there was only one catch of consequence in such a weir, and that in only one out of four of them. On the morning of December 15 we were given five fish out of a catch estimated by Maroligar at 100. The largest, somewhat less than a foot long but not improbably the best of the lot, was one of the several kinds that in Hawaii would be called papio or--in a restaurant--'baby ulua.' The others seemed to me to be horse mackeral--in Hawaii akule; but Maroligar insisted they were not the same as the picture of akule in Hosaka's book.

1: Burrows--83H-83I (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 227 Ifalik

Someone took a glance at each of the gamei every morning; but no one was disappointed to find them empty. It is only on rare occasions, when a run of small fish enters the lagoon, that the weirs are sometimes so full that the fish can be scooped out by the netful. However, the labor of building them has to be expended only once, after which a little repair work now and then will keep them in working condition indefinitely. Good catches, even though they come months apart, are worth that much trouble."

1: Burrows--83I (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 286, 171 Ifalik

"The kinds of fishing that require the largest number of men, and yield most of the large catches of fish, are done with nets. In one of the commonest and most productive methods, dip-nets are used for the final catch, but the fish are first herded together by what amounts to a movable weir. It is made of a long line of sennit rope and a number of green coconut leaves, which are split, and the halves tied along the line. Men wade out with it into shallow water, usually in the lagoon. They extend it to its full length, then sweep as large an area as it will cover by bringing the ends together. One end may be anchored, and the other brought around to meet it; but more often, within my observation, both ends were moved. The projecting coconut leaflets scare the fish, and drive them ahead of the line as it is pulled in and the circle narrowed. When the fish are enclosed in quite a small space, they are scooped up with dip-nets.

This technique, carried out on a small scale, is called sengango; on a larger scale, rop. Although it sometimes fails, it is the most reliable resource yet mentioned. When a good supply of fish is wanted for some special occasion, such as a feast on the completion of some public task, the kind of fishing tried is as often rop as any other.

Whether the word rop is a loan from English, or whether the resemblance to our 'rope' is a coincidence, I could not make out. The latter seems more likely. It is used only for the method of fishing, not for sennit rope in any other connection. This fishing technique is widespread--essentially the same as Hawaiian hukilau, for instance-- so it

1: Burrows--83I-83J (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1-2

"The most important fishing done with dip-nets, and the technique [83J] attended with more formality and ceremony than any other, is catching flying-fish by torchlight. This kind of fishing, with all its institutional elaboration, is called *turu.*

When the trade-wind season, called *vang* or *seu e vang*, has about three months to go, the chiefs may order the observance of *turu*. This is not done every year. The only consideration mentioned as determining whether it should be done or not was that *turu* is observed 'when there is plenty of food.' Since there is always plenty of taro and coconuts--except after a typhoon--and since breadfruit is out of season at this time, I could not make out the meaning of this statement. It might refer to an observed abundance of flying-fish. But the same factor--abundance of food --is also said to determine the time when men's dances are performed. It seems to be a conventional explanation for a decision made 'on impulse'--that is, based on an indefinite variety of factors.

During the observance of *turu* [KS: *turu*-catching flying fish by torchlight], all the men sleep in the canoe-houses or, formerly, the men's house. They are forbidden to enter the dwellings in which women sleep, or to have sexual intercourse. They may not eat preserved breadfruit (*mar*). It is permissible to eat fresh breadfruit, if there is any; but there would never be much at this time of year. Their principal food is taro--both *pulax* and the scarcer *wot*--and coconuts. The food is cooked by the women, who bring it to the canoe-houses, but leave it outside, being forbidden to enter. The observance lasts for three moons.

1: Burrows--83I-83J (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 226 Ifalik

The technique of fishing principally associated with turu involves preparation of many torches of dried coconut leaves, which are rolled into bundles and fastened by wrapping and tucking in the leaflets. Canoes, each supplied with plenty of these torches, go out of the lagoon on calm nights, fishing in the open sea, mostly not far from the seaward side of the reef. They light the torches, which have given their name, turu, to the whole observance. The light attracts the flying-fish. While some of the men handle the torches, and others manage the canoes, the most skillful wielders of dip-nets catch the fish as they swim about the boat. An occasional one may be caught in mid-air, as it flies over the boat or strikes against a sail; but the main supply is dipped out of the water."

1: Burrows--83J-83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 539 Ifalik^-2

"Serving as a charter for this institutional kind of fishing [KS: turu-catching flying fish by torchlight] is a myth which attributes its origin to Maur, leader and orator of ancient times, and ancestral holder of the second chiefly title, which decends [sic] in the SauvelārIk clan. The myth as told to me follows:

Maur went to Woleai, took a wife there, and had a son, who lived on the islet Falāris, while Maur and his wife lived on one of the other islands. One day Maur went over to Falāris to see his son, taking with him his sleeping mat and wooden pillow (ulul), which he prized highly.

When he returned, at nightfall, and opened out the sleeping-mat, he was much disturbed to find that the wooden pillow was not in it. It could not be found in the house, or anywhere about, so he decided that it must have been lost overboard on the journey from Falāris. Taking a supply of torches, he shoved off again in his canoe to search for the pillow.

Attracted by the light of the torch, flying-fish gathered about the boat, thick as mosquitoes. Some of them flew against the sail and fell [83K] into the canoe. Maur attached a dip-net to a long pole and scooped out many of the fish that were swarming in the water about the canoe. When he came back, his pillow had been found; and he brought in a notable catch of fish.

'How did you get them? ' he was asked.

'Let all the people assemble', he replied, 'and I will teach them'.

When the people gathered around, he showed them how to make the dip-nets and attach a long handle to them, and how to prepare coconut-leaf torches. And they went out and caught many flying-fish.

When Maur came back to his home on Ifalik he brought with him the knowledge of this new kind of fishing. From Ifalik and Woleai it spread to other islands; to Faraulep, and Aurupik (Eaurupik), and Sorol, and Yap. The lore even reached distant Nauru. But to this day many islands have not mastered it. Nearby Lanotrek is one of them. Satawan, Puluwat, and many others, still do not know how to catch flying-fish by torchlight.

Sarfert collected a version of this myth, somewhat less detailed and with minor variations, but in essentials the same as the one just given."

1: Burrows--83K
116, 226, 177

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Casting-nets are known in Ifalik, but little used. As it happens, I just once saw a man walking along the beach with a casting-net over his shoulder; and did not see him throw it. His net, and the others seen in the canoe-houses, were of imported cotton netting. This, and the fact that Damm does not mention casting-nets, suggest that they may be a recent introduction."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

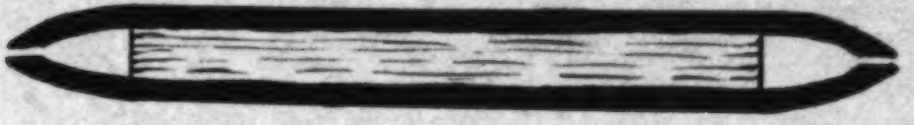
"Coconut-leaf torches are also used for fishing in shallow water without canoes; either wading in the lagoon near the beach, or walking at low tide on the exposed reef, where fish may be impounded in shallow pools. Usually three to six people accompany each light. Only men and boys were seen when the fishing was in the lagoon. For scouring the reef, some of the groups were also made up entirely of men, but others were household parties including women. The torch is usually carried in the left hand of the most expert fisherman. In his right hand he carries a dip-net. One of the others carries a basket to hold the fish; another a bundle of spare torches. Some kinds of fish, especially limen, may be struck with bush knives. Spears are not used in this kind of fishing. One of the fish most commonly taken with the dip-net in the lagoon is the needle-fish, which swims near the surface. Scouring the reef yields a greater variety. Crabs and molluscs may also be picked up there."

1: Burrows--83K (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 262 Ifalik

"Not only are flying-fish prized as food; they are also used as bait to catch larger species. Large hooks are attached to stout lines, baited with flying-fish, weighted with coral sinkers, and lowered to considerable depths in the open sea near the seaward side of the reef. The species caught are tangeri, yellow-fin tuna; ngal, wahoo or (Hawaiian) ono; and aule, 'a big, fat one', probably albacore. This kind of fishing supplements the netting of flying-fish by torchlight, and so forms part of the institutional turu."

1: Burrows--83K-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227 Ifalik

"Fig. 21. -Shuttle used in making fish nets. Made of split bamboo. (Shuttles of the same type, but usually of hard wood instead of bamboo, are used in weaving.)"



1: Burrows--83L (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"The length of a seine can be extended indefinitely. Two sizes are recognized. The longer ones, called ausepā, measured by pacing off a number of them spread on the ground to dry, average a little less than 200 feet. The shorter ones, called äting e sau, run less than half that long, with considerable variation among them. The people make the distinction that an äting e sau can be cast several times in a day, while one cast of an ausepā is a day's work. For the largest operations, such as rounding up a school of bonito, a number of seines are stretched end to end, and further extended by lines of rope at both ends and across any gaps between seines in the middle. The length of such a barrier is limited rather by available manpower than by material. We never saw all the seines of Ifalik in use at one time. Judging by the two bonito drives seen, a total length of half a mile for seines and rope is not uncommon.

For shorter casts, single seines may be used in the same way as the leaf-fringed lines in rop fishing. Or two seines, usually of the shorter size, may be used to extend the sides of a short section of net which is doubled and then sewed along the lower edge to form a pocket. When stretched straight, these form a V-shaped barrier with the pocket-shaped piece at the apex. An enclosure is formed by bringing together the outer ends of the seines which form the arms of the V. This is then narrowed by hauling in the seines in the usual way. When all the fish are driven into a small space near the apex, they are taken out, first by dip-nets, and finally lifting the pocket-shaped net out of water and dumping the fish into a canoe."

1: Burrows--83L-83M (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1·2

"The climax of seine fishing comes when a school of bonito enters the lagoon. Indeed, though less celebrated in songs than trolling (which better displays individual prowess), and less attended with myth and ritual than torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, such an occasion involves more people (virtually all able-bodied individuals), and when successful yields a greater quantity of food than any other fishing. We saw two such drives. The first ended in failure, but the second was a success, capturing the whole school. That worked up a higher pitch of public excitement than any other event of our six months' stay on the island. [83M]

Except for the outcome, the course of events was much the same during the two drives, one August 1, the other August 9. The following account is pieced together from notes taken on the two days. The actual catch and succeeding activities were witnessed, of course, only once.

Both times the fish were sighted early in the morning. It takes a skilled eye to distinguish the little ripple or swirl made by a school of bonito from all the other surface movements of the water; but the difference is so important that the male population has life-long practise at it. Months later, a false alarm had the men out on the beach or in canoes for a while, until the disturbance was found to be made by small fry. The first time, the announcement was made by boys, who sped by in three canoes, shouting the glad tidings. Tom said afterward that the cry is Garangap e! (Bonito ho!) The second time, it was Maroligar, No. 2 chief, always an early riser, who first saw the school of fish. It is one of his functions to take charge of a bonito drive. He hurried to the nearest canoe-house and bellowed at the top of his voice to call out the men. To us, in our tent close beside the same canoe-house, it seemed that they took their time about getting there. Certainly they showed no such amazing speed as did the immediate neighbors on the one occasion when I saw a thatched roof catch fire. Still, they probably turned out as fast as they well could for what was apt to be a long day's work.

The first task was strenuous: hauling canoes from the canoe-houses into the water; unrolling seines, which are stowed on the tie-beams in balls some three feet in diameter; dragging them to the water--with men strung a few yards apart along them--and piling them into the boats; then heading for the rendezvous where they hoped to surround the school.

Meanwhile the women began their contribution. Gathered in several groups near shore, they sang and danced their serenade, the bwarux, with beckoning motions of the hands and erotic swinging of the hips. Primarily this dance is performed by one woman for one man, her sweetheart, in the utmost privacy. The very name bwarux is not uttered by people of either sex in the presence of the other. It is only on this occasion, so far as we saw, that it is performed in chorus and in public. (One other time at a men's dance, several women sang a bwarux, by way of applause and encouragement, but did not dance it.)

1: Burrows--83M-830 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik 1-4

"There are four places about the edge of the lagoon where the impounding of a school of bonito is said to be feasible. One is a little bay off the beach of FalārIk district. The second is the bay called Lé, opposite the men's house in Rauau district. The third is the shallow water next to the beach on Falālap, just north of the largest canoe-house on that island called Gavilea. The fourth is a bay near the northernmost point of the uninhabited islet Ellā. The one used on both occasions during our stay was that off the shore of Falālap. It is nearer the pass [83N] than the sites off FalārIk; the line of seines when fully extended there nearly shuts off the pass. It is nearer the canoe-houses than the site of Ellā. Whether these were the reasons for using it I could not make sure. It seems not to be a matter of where the school is first sighted, for the fish swim fast, and on both occasions made the circuit of the lagoon more than once.

The men stretched a line of seines, with intervals of rope, from one canoe to another, forming a barrier that extended from the shore nearly due west to the pass. At this stage on the first day there were 22 canoes in the line, ranging in size from the smallest to big sailing canoes. The number increased later to 33, then 37, but some of these were in other parts of the lagoon, trying to round up the school of fish, which escaped at least twice. The largest number of canoes counted in action at one time was 46; 26 of them in the line of seines and rope, the others driving the fish toward the barrier.

The next step, that of bringing the ends of the line of nets around the school ~~of fish~~, is slow and hazardous. Towing or hauling the nets is hard work and can not be hurried.

At this stage the women take a more active part, wading out to help pull the nets. This interferes with the dance, but they go on singing. Partly towed by canoes, partly hauled by lines of men and women, the nets were swung around and their ends hauled in until they formed a crescent with its points toward shore. By the time this was accomplished on the first day, it was too late to complete the catch before dark. So the ends of the net were pulled together, leaving the fish impounded. All night canoes moved about the circle of nets. Conch trumpets and boatswain's whistles were blown, apparently to keep them from escaping. But they did escape, not only from the nets but from the lagoon, into the open sea.

On the afternoon of the second day, after several escapes, the school was herded into the space between the crescent of nets and the beach, and kept there while the two ends of the crescent were hauled ashore. The hauling continued, bringing the fish into shallower water, closer and closer to shore. Soon they could be plainly seen whirling about within the narrowing barrier. The top of the net was sometimes lifted where they came near, or they were frightened back by shouts and splashing.

The excitement mounted. All the men were shouting orders at each other. Many of the men had managed to deck themselves with young white coconut leaf during the slow hours earlier in the day. The women who were not hauling on the line came dancing down to the beach, swinging their hips in wider circles than ever. The ranking chief and

1: Burrows--83L-83M (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 226 Ifalik

Later inquiry about the purpose of this performance brought only the usual answer that it was an ancient custom. My guess is that the song and dance were addressed to the men, to cheer them on, rather than with any magic purpose in mind. The words may be those of any well-known love song. Once when I passed close to a group as they sang, their giggles and sidelong glances suggested that they were improvising words about me."

was said that one fish was allotted to each person. As the pile for each district was finished, young men came up, bowing low in deference to the authority represented by the occasion (though only the lowest-ranking chief was taking part), and carried the fish away.

There were plenty of fish left, so the distribution continued. First five small piles were counted out, one for each of the chiefs. Then three larger piles, one for each of the most populous and highest-ranking clans: Kovalū, Sauvelārlk, Mangaulevār. The other five clans were ignored in this allotment, though the lowest chiefly title belongs in one of them. However, that clan, Rapevelū, has less than half as many members as any of the ranking three.

Still a few fish were left. I did not make out on what basis they were allotted, but they were divided into little piles, and taken away by young men, like the others."

1: Burrows--83O-83P
116, 251

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1·3

"The people scattered to their homes [KS: after the bonito catch], but not to sleep. Those who had not taken part in the distribution had been busy preparing earth-ovens (um), not in the cook-sheds behind the dwellings, but on the foreshore near the beach. Shallow pits were hollowed in the sand. Piles of dry firewood were brought from the cook-sheds, and supplemented by dry coconut husks; and fires were laid and kindled in the pits. When the fires were going well, basketfuls of coral gravel were thrown over them to be heated. Meanwhile the bonito had been cleaned, cut into large pieces and made into bundles with wrappers of banana and breadfruit leaf. When fires were well burned down, the bundles were laid over the hot coral and the whole covered over with coconut leaf and earth. There they stayed for what was left of the night. (This traditional kind of cooking is no longer used to prepare ordinary meals in the cook-sheds, but only for special tasks like cooking large fish and turtles.)

Early next morning the pits were still covered, but the people were busy making racks (fang) to smoke the bonito. Four upright posts were set in the ground forming a rectangle. On top of them, at a height of about four feet, a horizontal frame was made of poles, either laid in forks on top of the posts or lashed in place with sinnet [sic] Pieces laid crisscross over this formed the rack. Most of them were of green coconut leaf midrib, which does not burn easily. The wrappers of cooked fish were laid on the rock, the top roofed over with plaited green coco- [83P] nut leaf, and the sides walled in with the same material, except for a low opening left on one side for feeding a smudgy fire,

1: Burrows--83O-83P (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 251 Ifalik

mostly of coconut husks. This fire was kept going as long as the supply of fish held out. Some of it, cooked over an open fire, had been eaten the night before. (I did not see any eaten raw, but some may have been, as bonito commonly is in Japan, Hawaii, and other parts of the Pacific). From then on, smoked bonito was the daily fare for about two weeks. Gifts made to us would spoil overnight, until we asked our neighbor Maroligar to put them on his rack. Toward the end the fish was very hard and smoky, but as long as it was kept on the racks, no more tainted than smoked and salted fish eaten in the United States.

For three days after such a catch, work is forbidden, except for that necessary in the preparation of the fish and in daily housekeeping. The tabu extends to sexual intercourse. The traditional penalty for violation applies explicitly only to men, and only when the next bonito catch involves use of the spear. The violator of the tabu will be unable, next time, to spear the fish. This is expressed in something like a proverb, a rarity in Ifalik. Ig e valī la ig owai, the fish refuses the spear. It was compared to a woman refusing sexual intercourse."

the foreign observer, as they stood on the beach, were ardently wooed behind their backs.

Some of the big blue fish began to flop ashore. Men and women ran down, seized them by the tail with one hand and ran a finger of the other under a gill-cover, then tossed them up on the bank. Others were seized and thrown from the water. Sometimes the chiefs order the use of spears at this stage; but this time they decided that the catch could be managed better without them.

The whole catch was carried, some in canoes and some by hand to the space in front of the men's house, and laid in a great heap. People took [830] time out to breathe and bathe, and eat a hasty snack.

After dark, by the light of a fire of dry coconut leaves, the catch was counted and distributed. The total number was 311 (at least one had previously been given away, to the anthropologists). Garegeligar, priest and healer, seemed to be in charge of the distribution, though he is not a chief. (He never missed a chance of being the center of attention.) The counting and tossing the fish into piles was begun by the lowest ranking chief, Toroman. He handled the fish one at a time, calling out the count. When he tired, his place was taken by one of the strongest men, who handled the fish in pairs, one in each hand. The count was called out in the same way, except for the tens; that is, after nine came twenty, after the second nine, forty, and so on.

The first distribution was made by districts: Falālap, then Rauau, then Falārik. Within each district there seemed to be a count of heads, by households; at any rate, it

1: Burrows--83P (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Some indication of the relative importance of different kinds of communal fishing is given by journal entries of expeditions noted during our stay. It applies mainly to Rauau district, partly to Rauau and FalārIk together. (Falālap had a different schedule, though on the same general pattern.) The long gaps during the early months may mean that fishing was less noticed at first. Yet it is also possible that during that time most of the fishing was done individually or in small groups. That was a daily undertaking. The journal entries take no account of it, except for the use of small traps, which was a general response to the appearance of the little OerIk in the lagoon."

1-5

1: Burrows--83P-83S (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226 Ifalik

"Fluctuations that appear in the list are not necessarily seasonal, as some kinds of fish come and go at irregular intervals. Indeed, the kind of fishing that is most strictly seasonal, torchlight expeditions for flying-fish, is not noted at all, as it was never witnessed. It comes at the end of the trade-wind season, when we were not there.

The entries follow:

Aug. 1. -Bonito in lagoon. Left in the circle of nets overnight.
Aug. 2. -The school of bonito got away during the night.
Aug. 9. -Bonito in lagoon again. All caught late in the day.
September 6. -One turtle caught.
September 20. -Men of all districts fished night and morning for feast in connection with religious ceremony. (The kind of fishing was not noted because of concentration on the ceremony.)
Oct. 6 -Big rop fishing, 8 to 10 canoes. Small catch. [83Q]
Oct. 11. -Rop fishing by men of Rauau. Good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish, many of them parrot-fish.
Oct. 13. -Three sailing canoes put out with traps, looking for driftwood. Found none.
Oct. 14. -One canoe put out with trap; driven back by strong wind.
Oct. 15. -Canoes continue to go out at dawn every day. No luck so far.
Oct. 19. -Daily sorties with traps abandoned. Twelve canoes from Rauau, 8 from Falārlk, went out today for rop fishing. Came back early in the afternoon

with a good catch, estimated at 200. Reef fish of many kinds, parrot fish predominating. Large black ulua presented to us.

Oct. 22. -Canoes from Falālap out *rop* fishing. Good catch; provided a feast for the men who had recently replaced a corner-post on one of the canoe-houses.

Oct. 28. -*Rop* fishing by Rauau men. Fair catch; '20-odd big ones and a few shovelfuls of little ones.'

Oct. 30. -For several days men in all the canoe-houses have been making big seines for Falālap.

Nov. 6. -Rather large party from Rauau and FalārIk; 22 canoes counted. (Fishing probably *rop*.) Poor luck; reported at 50-60 fish. In the afternoon, Rauau men swept the reef near the men's house with seines. Good catch, reported at 300.

Nov. 14. -The little *OerIk* (Anchoviella?) has appeared in large numbers in the lagoon. People are setting out small traps for them. First catch noted this day. (For some time after this, use of small traps for oerIk was a general daily practise. It seemed to go by bursts and only conspicuous activity is noted.)

Nov. 16. -One canoe from Rauau, one from FalārIk, went out with large traps looking for driftwood. No luck.

Nov. 18. -Everybody setting out small traps, catching *oerIk*.

1:Burrows--83P-83S (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 226 Ifalik

Nov. 19. -At last a good catch with a big trap, around driftwood at sea. Number reported at 200, which seems a standard figure for a good haul.

Nov. 20-22. -Canoes out daily after driftwood. The usual poor luck. Fish are scarce.

Nov. 24. -An unusual catch in one of the small traps, of fish bigger than oerIk, about a dozen, mostly parrot -fish and goat-fish.

Nov. 26. -A turtle came ashore at night and was caught.

Nov. 27. -Another turtle speared in the lagoon.

Nov. 28. -A third turtle caught; this one came ashore.

Nov. 29. -Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, butchered the three turtles. [83R]

Dec. 4. -Scarcity of fish continues.
Canoes have been going out pretty regularly, looking for driftwood. One of them made another good catch in the big trap; about 100.

Dec. 6. -A canoe went trolling over the district reef Vasulos. Caught one yellow-fin tuna perhaps 4 feet long; but this was not considered enough for the long, hard trip. High seas reported over the reef.

Dec. 12. -The boys went out still-fishing over the fringing roof on the eastern side of Falālap, to get fish for a feast celebrating completion of canoe-house repairs in Rauau. Used small canoes, as in solitary fishing; but went out in a body, and to an unusual place. Catch rather small, mostly the red toothy lipwaix.

Supplemented at feast by a clam-like bivalve.

Dec. 13. -At least two sailing canoes out this morning after driftwood. Caught nothing. Maroligar ordered a scouring of the reef by torchlight at low tide, which came in the middle of the night. Five lights counted on the western barrier reef. Others fished the fringing reef on the eastern side. Catch reported small.

Dec. 15. -First and only considerable catch in a coral weir. Number estimated at 100. Commonest species looked to me like horse macherel, [sic] but identification is not certain.

Dec. 16. -19. Shortage of fish continues. Canoes go out nearly every day with big traps, but find no drifting logs, though many are coming ashore on the eastern beach. Small traps are not set out along the lagoon beach for oerIk; some are caught, but not many.

Dec. 20-26. -Small traps set out daily for oerIk. No communal fishing. High seas, --a near-hurricane on the 21st. Men busy in the canoe-houses making small traps.

Jan. 2. -Young men of Rauau out rop fishing. Moderate catch. Estimated at 100. This was for a feast following a ceremony on behalf of a sick woman.

Jan. 15-19. -Seas calmer, some angling even on eastern fringing reef; but the daily trapping of oerIk seems still to furnish the main supply.

Jan. 24. -No more catches of oerIk. They seem to have left the lagoon. Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day making several casts of small seine along lagoon shore Catch small while I was watching, but later we were brought two fish big enough to make a good dinner for the two of us.

Jan. 26. -Men of Rauau and FalārIk spent all day on one cast with the big seine on the lagoon shore One end anchored to a stone pier. Catch moderate, but again we were brought two fish, one of which was enough for us. [83S]

Jan. 29. -Disappearance of oerIk seems confirmed. None have been caught for some days now, and the people have given up setting out traps for them.

Feb. 2. -Men and boys of Rauau went torchlight fishing on the eastward fringing reef. Catch reported small.

Feb. 3. -Another torchlight expedition on the eastward reef."

1: Burrows--83S
116, 226

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik /-2

"While this list has some value for illustration, it is obviously too slight a foundation for any general statement as to which kinds of fishing are most in favor or most successful. With this limitation in mind, its showing can be roughly summarized in tabular form. Only communal methods are included, which leaves out the use of small traps for oerlk, casting, and most of the angling.

Fishing Technique	Number of Mentions	Large Catches	Small Catches	Failures
large traps	9	2	0	7
rop	5	2	3	0
seines	4	1	2	1
torchlight (on the reef)	3	0	3	0
trolling	1	0	1	0
angling (communal)	1	0	1	0

This review of fishing methods makes it clear that the people of Ifalik are not well supplied with fish. The lagoon, not quite a square mile in extent, is not big enough to furnish an adequate supply. The reef, too, is limited in extent. Moreover, it is inaccessible because of high surf except in calm weather. The open sea has few fish. Shallow reefs in the vicinity of Ifalik are the best fishing grounds; but they are accessible, in native canoes, only when the wind is in the right direction, and not too strong."

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"Discussion of the pattern of relationships among the people of Ifalik may well begin with a list of the bonds that unite the whole population. This unit has all the characteristics ordinarily cited to define a society, community or tribe. In fact, few of the aggregations called by those names are held together by as many bonds as the people of Ifalik. They share, to begin with, a common habitat and a common culture. Being so few, and confined within so little space, they are all personally acquainted by the time they grow up; though of course the degree of acquaintanceship varies widely. The chapter on government will show that they form a political unit; that on religion, that thay [sic] make up a single church or congregation.

As a matter of fact, it seems probable that all are biologically akin, ~~But that is~~ according to our way of thinking, not their own. As long as they do not recognize kinship, it does not exist as an additional bond except within the smaller groups to be discussed later."

1: Burrows--84　　(1947-48)　　Woleaians
116, 648　　Ifalik

"Toward the enormous populations that inhabit vast lands far away-- or some of them--the people of Ifalik show a certain deference. They are used to being ruled by outsiders-Spanish, then Germans, then Japanese, and now Americans. But this does not put too great a strain on their self-esteem. They like to think that the world power with which they are affiliated is the largest and mightiest of all. Nowadays they are glad to accord that supremacy to the United States, as formerly they probably accorded it to their previous rulers. But world powers are so vast that Ifalik people can form only a dim conception of them; and so far away that most of the talk about them is of the kind we dismiss as 'academic.' "

1: Burrows--84 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 186 Ifalik

"The people are keenly aware of their unity, and proud of it. True, they have also some fellow-feeling for the inhabitants of neighboring atolls; 'all same one people', as Tom said more than once in concluding the legends about repopulation of the neighboring islands from Ifalik. But, as the legends also show, they like to think of themselves, and to have others think of them, as a little superior to the others. They even manage to look down, in at least two respects, on the people of Yap, who admittedly outrank them. 'To talk like a Yap man' is one way of saying 'to lie.' And the suspicion and dissension said to prevail among different districts in Yap are contrasted with Ifalik's solidarity."

1: Burrows--84-85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621, 476 Ifalik

"The unity of the whole population is not exclusively a matter of relationships with foreigners. All the people assemble as a unit for religious and governmental meetings. All act as a unit to capture a school of bonito when one is found in the lagoon. Occasionally they undertake other common tasks. Most conspicuous of these, during our stay, was that of cleansing up the island. It was suggested, indeed, by an outsider, the American doctor, who advocated sanitation in order to reduce disease. Presumably he had in mind separate jobs of house-cleaning about the dwellings. But the chiefs took the matter further. They ordained that all the more frequented parts of the island, including the coconut and breadfruit groves, should be, as our army calls it, policed up. The whole population went over the ground as caretakers go over a park or golf course. And the motive was the very local pride we have been discussing. They wanted to get a higher rating for cleanliness than the other islands. It was a matter of rejoicing all around when we were able to tell them, just before our departure, 'the doctor says this is the cleanest island he has seen.' [85]

In carrying out this task, and in most others, the actual working units were smaller groups. These are united, and delimited, by a variety of bonds-sex, age, occupation, common residence, kinship; in many cases by more than one of these at a time."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463 Ifalik

"Occupation also governs the formation of temporary groups only. Some of these, as already noted, have other bonds as well--sex, age, common residence. There are no formal permanent organizations of fishermen, canoe-builders, or specialists of any kind. Navigators from different islands,on the rather rare occasions when they meet, may gravitate together. They have a good deal in common;not only a common part-time occupation, but a common status, next to that of the chiefs, and common possession of the restricted lore of seamanship. But since they meet only at long intervals, and then mostly in twos or threes, they hardly constitute a distinct group."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462 Ifalik

"Groups whose membership is delimited by sex have only a temporary or intermittent existence. Usually, even then, they are united by some other bond in addition to that of common sex. Often the other bond is occupation. Groups of men or of women gather to perform some task allotted by custom to one sex alone, as fishing for men, cooking for women. Such groups disband on the completion of each task, unless they are also united by membership in the same household. Virtually all of them have the additional bond of residence in the same neighborhood. Hardly ever do all the men of the atoll, or all the women, act together without the participation of the other sex. War would bring about such a group of the men, but warfare in Ifalik is a thing of the rather remote past."

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 643 Ifalik

"The chiefs do indeed constitute a group, continuous though not always in session. The bonds that unite it are common rank, a common part-time occupation, and, as a rule though not necessarily, male sex and rather advanced age. Their rank seems to be the most prominent characteristic in native thought. Their common occupation, that of governing, involves a relationship to all the rest of the people. Further discussion of this activity makes up the chapter on government."

8

1: Burrows--85 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 561, 882 Ifalik

"Some groups formed on the basis of age-those of children and (approximately) adolescents-have a more continuous existence. They are united also by common residence, for it is only the children, or the youths, of one particular neighborhood who play together regularly. Quite young children play in groups that include both sexes. (By 'quite young' is meant here old enough to talk and be fairly sure-footed, but too young to wear clothes, which are put on at about the age when our children begin school.) But when they reach adolescence their only distinct groups are limited by sex as well. It is only the young men who form groups of any permanence. Adolescent girls, more restricted by custom to their own households, may go out together to gather pandanus leaves for a mat, or carry on some similar task; but these gatherings, like other work gangs, disband when the job is finished. Formerly, when the unmarried men slept in a men's house, of which there were several at one time, or in one of the canoe-houses, they were almost continuously together. But of late they separate every night to sleep in the households of their relatives. Pre-marital sexual relationships, permitted by custom on Ifalik as in many Pacific islands, are not carried on by groups, as in parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, but by isolated couples, who meet secretly to avoid gossip."

1: Burrows--85-86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 575 Ifalik

"Ifalik has nothing corresponding closely to the secret societies, guilds, or other formal associations that abound in some primitive cultures. To use the [86] convenient term recently suggested by Lowie, Ifalik lacks sodalities."

1: Burrows--86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 162 Ifalik

"Much of the daily activity of the atoll is carried on by, or on behalf of, permanent groups organized on the basis of common residence, or kinship, or both. In the discussion of these that follows, the source of the specific figures given here and there is a census by households, taken during our first days on the island. A rather thorough collection of genealogies, made later on by Spiro, revealed some inaccuracies in the census. So most of the figures represent the consus [sic] as corrected by the genealogies."

1: Burrows--86 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik

"The largest territorial subdivisions of the population are determined by residence on one or the other of the two inhabited islands, Falārik and Falālap. Although some individuals have ties on both islands, and shift their residence rather freely from one to the other, nearly everyone is clearly identified, for participation in communal activities, with one or the other. The most conspicuous case of shifting residence, within our observation, was the chief Maroligar, who had close relatives on both islands. But his title involved authority over part of Falārik island, which identified him for most practical purposes, with that territorial group.

Each of the islands is further divided into two districts (gapilām). On Falārik island these are Falārik district, to the north (households 8-8 inclusive), and Ranau (households 9-19). On Falālap they are Ievang, to the north (the name means 'north'-households 20-24) and Iauru ('south' households 25-29).

In 1909 Sarfert recorded three sub-divisions in what is now called Falārik district: Sago, Gadjudolling, and Ledjourou. There are no longer any dwellings in the area corresponding to his 'Sago,' though the site of a former men's house is still pointed out there. 'Gadjudolling' (my 'Gajuteling') is the name of a canoe-house; and 'Ledjourou' may well have been the name of another, for which I was given only Fan ni Wā, the generic term for 'canoe house.' In Rauau, too, he collected two names for territorial subdivisions: 'Lawuau,' obviously the same as my 'Rauau,' and Sawolöb, as clearly the canoe-house name I recorded as Sabwōlap."

1: Burrows--86-87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 621 Ifalik 1-2

"Now the word gapilām, which I translate 'district', is used in two senses: (1) for the more formal territorial units of which there are now two on each inhabited island; and (2) for the smaller, informal neighborhoods made up of the households about each canoe-house. The canoe-houses, through their use by men and boys as club-houses, constitute neighborhood centers for the males. The obvious interpretation of the difference between Sarfert's list and mine is that he, or his interpreter, did not distinguish between these two uses of the native word. That would not be surprising, in view of his short stay on the atoll.

However, the very ambiguity of the word suggests another possibility: that what are now mere neighborhoods may have been more distinct units, perhaps even political subdivisions, 38 years earlier. The situation on Falālap reinforces this suggestion. There the two districts, Iauru and Ievang, are the same as in Sarfert's time. Some of the song-texts collected suggest a distinct consciousness of difference between them. (The age of a song, except for some quite recent ones, is impossible to determine.) But in 1947-8 they were distinct in little more than name. They were sometimes treated separately in distribution of food. But they had only one canoe house, Gavilea in Iauru, large enough to accommodate sea-going canoes; so in communal fishing they acted as a unit, and seemed to do so in [87] most other public activities. For most purposes the island during our stay had only three districts: Falālap as a whole and, on Falārik island, Rauau and Falārik districts. Iauru and Ievang were well along toward merging. Further evidence of a tendency to merge former subdivisions will be given in the chapter on government (pp. 139-141)."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik

"The smallest unit based on common residence is the household, except insofar as the family maintains separate residence within the household. Both these units are determined also by kinship so they will be discussed later."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 588 Ifalik

"Kailang exogamy is the only formal verbalized incest ban. Marriage between a girl and her father, though he is of a different kailang, seems not to occur to them as a possibility. This ban does without saying, as it does among us. Informal exogamy will be discussed further by Spiro."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 614 Ifalik

"One kind of kinship tie--common descent in the maternal line--places each individual in one of eight groups called kailang. These groups have names: Kovalū, Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, Rapevelu, Sauwel, Kailangailuk, Bwel, and Kailangalualea. They are exogamous, and this rule is strictly observed. There was no case on Ifalik during our stay of a wife and husband both of the same kailang. Children adopted into a kailang other than their ancestral one may not marry members of either kailang."

1: Burrows--87 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 194 Ifalik

"Three details of pronunciation of the word kailang may be useful for comparison with related areas. First, the initial k is not only unaspirated, but pronounced so lightly that at first I did not hear it, and recorded the word as ailang. (This is the name reported for similar groups in some other islands.) Later test and inquiry showed that in Ifalik the k is always present, or at least is thought to be. Second, in the language of Ifalik, as commonly in neighboring islands, l and n are equivalent sounds, variants of one phoneme. So this word can be pronounced kainang as well as kailang. Third, a final vowel, though not sounded unless the next word begins with a consonant, is conceptually present. When it is sounded, it seems to be the 'neutral' (central, mid, unrounded) vowel. So one of the ways of pronouncing the word is very nearly the same as kainanga, the name for the largest descent group in some Polynesian islands. The Polynesian groups, however, are patrilineal."

1: Burrows--87
116, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The name in commonest use for unilineal, exogamous descent groups like the kailang of Ifalik is 'clan.' Clan will be used here as the translation of kailang. Since the line of descent that determines membership here is matrilineal, this group would still be called a clan in the terminology formerly common among American anthropologists, whereby a patrilineal group was called a 'gens.'"

1: Burrows--87-88 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans are not localized, --that is, most of them are represented in the population of all inhabited parts of the atoll. In fact, the same clans, or most of them, are found also on neighboring atolls. Woleai is said to have the same clans as Ifalik. I could not check this statement there, as we stopped at Woleai only on our way to Ifalik, before we knew the clan names. But a visiting chief from Woleai, hearing that the chiefs of Ifalik had given me their [88]legend about the settlement of both islands, asked that my account be read and translated to him. This legend (p. 151) gives names of traditional founders of all the clans. Thw Woleai chief was already familiar with most of them, and accepted without question the one or two which, he said, had been forgotten on Woleai. At Lamotrek, where we stopped on the return trip from Ifalik, I was given names of three clans; Sauvelārik, Mangaulevār, and Sauwēl. The names are the same as far as they go, and it is quite likely that the list is incomplete. On Elato, within sight of Lamotrek, the list given me was Kovalū, Savelārik, Mangaulevār, Kailangalualea, Sauwēl. Faraulep is also said to have the same clans, but the statement was not checked by inquiry there. The list obtained on Satawal was lost overboard, I recall one name in it which is evidently the same as an Ifalik name, though pronounced somewhat differently: Sauvelăchik. If memory can be trusted, there were one or two others; but certainly there were also some which had no apparent resemblance to Ifalik clan names. Satawal, then, seems to be on the border of distribution of these clans."

1: Burrows--88-89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 162 Ifalik 1-2

"Because they are not localized, the descent groups on Ifalik would be called sibs in the terminology recently proposed by Murdock. However, localization is not an all-or-nothing characteristic. It may change in degree, and even appear or disappear in the same locality in the course of time. The degree of localization on Ifalik in 1947-48 is shown in the following table, made up from the census by households. Falālap island was treated as a unit, but Falārik island divided into the two districts of Rauau and Falārik, the commonest form of local subdivision in native practise. Children recorded as adopted in this census (corrected later from Spiro's genealogies), and natives of other islands married to Ifalik women, were not included. This because, although adoption is commonly within the clan, it is not always so, and there was doubt about the clan mambership [sic] of some of the adopted children. As for natives of other islands, whatever their clan, their place of residence on Ifalik may not exemplify local practise. In another table prepared as a test, children listed as adopted were included, assigning them to the clan of the adopting mother unless membership in some other clan was known. This table, though discarded as less accurate, brought out the same pattern of minimal localization as the one that follows.

Clan Membership by Locality

1: Burrows--88-89,
116, 618, 162

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

	Falārik	Raŋau	Falālap	Total
Kovalū. .	2	25	17	45
Sauvelārik. .	8	15	21	44
Mangaulevār. .	20	11	23	54
Rapevelū. .	0	12	6	18
Sauwēl. .	7	12	4	23
Kailangailūk. .	9	12	2	23
Bwēl. .	0	0	11	11
Kailangalualea. .	0	0	2	2

The general rule is clear, --that clans are not localized. All the members of two clans, however, live on Falālap. In the case of Kailangalualea this has no significance, as the clan is reduced to two (or three) members; a woman, her [89] daughter, and the latter's adopted daughter, whose clan membership is uncertain. Naturally, all three live in the same household."

1: Burrows--89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"No other clan is associated with a particular plant or occupation. But the name of one of them suggests former localization: Sauvelā̆rIk. Two of the clan names, and a third on Sarfert's list, begin with 'sau'. This recalls a prefix which occurs in the names of certain descent groups in western Polynesia: Samoan Sā̆, Futunan Sa'a, Tongan and Uvean Ha'a. In the clan name Saupolowat, collected by Sarfert, the clan is said to have come from Puluwat. Accordingly, I asked whether Sauvelā̆rIk meant 'clan (or people) of Falā̆rik'. Tom and another member of the clan--as I recall it, the chief Maroligar--said that it did. That this was not merely a matter of falling in with any such suggestion is shown by the fact that a similar question--whether Bwêl and Sauwêl were offshoots of one original clan--was answered in the negative. Of course, the answer of natives to any such question may be wrong. Yet the probability that the name indicated former localization of this clan seemed strong enough to be worth mentioning."

1: Burrows--89 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"The localization of the clan Bwēl, however, seems more than accidental. The name *bwēl*, as a common noun, means taro swamp. The clan Bwēl is especially associated with the cultivation of taro. Traditionally no others can equal them at horticulture. Since all but a few small patches of taro swamp are on Falālap, the localization of this clan there seems related to this traditional function. However, this showing is weakened by the fact that Bwēl, too, is a small clan, and all but one of its members belonged to a single household."

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 565 Ifalik 1-3

"Names of some of the other clans connote rank rather than locality. There is a recognized order of rank for those clans within which chiefly titles are hereditary, corresponding to the order of the chiefs who hold these titles. Clans that have no title rank below those that have, but apparently in no particular order.

Below are listed the clans, in order of rank as far as possible, with what was learned about the meaning of their names, and any special attributes:

1. Kovalū: *Ko* is said to mean something like 'chief' or ruler, though the ordinary word for chief is *tamōl*. *Valū* means 'land' or 'island'. The word is said to be not only the name of the clan, but also the title of the highest ranking chief, who is of this clan. However, the chief is rarely, if ever, addressed or referred to as Kovalū. This clan has first claim on all turtles.
2. SauvelarIk. People of FalārIk. This is the only clan that has two chiefly titles. They rank No. 2 and No. 4. It has first claim on all yellow-fin tuna. Tom, a member of this clan and inclined to make the most of its importance, said that SauvelārIk, through the higher of its two chiefs, has charge of the lagoon and of fishing. The response of the chiefs when asked about this claim is discussed on pp. 140 and 141.
3. Mangaulevār: Translated by Tom as 'more high' (in rank). Title of the No. 3. chief.
4. Rapevelū: Title of the No. 5 chief. *Rape* translated by Tom as 'all same *tamōl*';

like ko, but less exalted. Velū is 'land' or 'island', the same as valū in kovalū.

5-8. (As noted, the following clans, which have no chiefly titles, seem to have no particular order of rank except that all are subordinate to the preceding four.)

Sauwēl. The name was not translated. Sarfert's statement that this clan [90] came from Woleai suggests that the name might mean 'people of Woleai'; but this is inconsistent with the Ifalik legend of repopulation of Woleai, and was denied. Another suggestion, that the name might mean 'people of the taro swamp', and so be a variant of Bwēl, was also rejected. 'Just name', Tom said. The traditional function of this clan is to run errands and carry out orders for the chiefs. Tom said 'all same policeman.' The only reflection of this noted in practise was that an old man of this clan living in Falārik district was said to be a sort of petty chief, the only instance of such a position. He did not meet with the chiefs, nor sit with them at public assemblies. No case was observed in which he exercised his authority. But then, he was very old, and correspondingly inactive.

Bwēl: Taro swamp. Traditionally the expert gardeners. No more active in routine gardening, however, than members of other clans.

Kailangailuk: The name was not translated, nor any special characteristics attributed to this clan.

1: Burrows--89-90 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

Kailangalualea: No translation obtained, nor any special attributes. This clan seems on the point of extinction in Ifalik. The members were a woman and her widowed daughter, perhaps also the latter's adopted daughter. If this girl has children, and they are ascribed to Kailangalualea, the clan will continue; otherwise it will die out with this generation. On Elato the highest ranking chief, in February, 1948, was of this clan.

The difference in rank among clans is a source of pride to those whose clan membership gives them some claim to superiority. This confers no practical privileges, however, except for Kovalū's right to turtles and Sauvelār̄Ik's to yellow-fin tuna."

1: Burrows--90-91 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 565 Ifalik 1-2

"In one important respect the relative rank of clans seems to be reflected in behavior. This is in choice of a mate.

The following list shows intermarriages between clans, as represented by the married couples living on Ifalik during our stay, except for four cases in doubt because of adoption. Kailangalualea does not appear in the table because the two certain members of this clan were widows. No attempt was made to learn the clan membership of the former spouses of widows and widowers.

Clan	Kovalū	SauvelārIk	Mangaulevār	Rapevelū	Sauwel	Kailang-ailuk	Bwel
Kovalu	x	10	6	1	1	4	1
SauvelārIk	10	x	7	3	3	0	0
Mangaulevār	6	7	x	1	7	6	1
Rapevelū	1	3	1	x	0	0	0
Sauwel	1	3	7	0	x	4	1
Kailangailuk	4	0	6	0	4	x	0
Bwel	1	0	1	0	1	0	x

Marriages between members of two title-holding clans (upper left quadrant of the table) total 28; between a member of a title-holding and a member of a titleless clan (lower left or upper right quadrant), 23; between two members of titleless clans, 5. It is true

1: Burrows--90-91 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 618, 565 Ifalik

that the number of marriages is correlated with [91] relative numerical strength of the clans as well as with relative rank. Membership of the four title-holding clans, excluding cases in doubt because of adoption, totalled 161; membership of the four titleless clans, 69. But this correlation between rank and numbers is itself another suggestion that clan rank may be a factor in selection of a mate. It is clear, though, that the apparent tendency to marry into a title-holding clan if possible does not amount to segregation or class endogamy. For instance, the highest-ranking clan of all, Kovalū, is allied by marriage with all the other clans."

1: Burrows--91 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 773 Ifalik

"No trace of totemism appears. The only connections between particular clans and creatures other than human are those mentioned: the right of Kovalū to turtles, or Sauvelārlk to yellow-fin tuna, and the association of Bwel with taro. The first two are nearly the opposite of the food tabus commonly associated with totem creatures. They are special privileges of these highest ranking clans with regard to particularly prized kinds of food. The association of Bwel with taro is different. It has more the look of a sentence to hard labor for this low-ranking clan, sweetened by flattery. Neither turtle nor tuna nor taro were used as symbols of the clans associated with them. Nor were any myths found about descent from non-human creatures, supernatural help from them, or any other traditional relationship."

"Damm gives, from Sarfert's notes, a list of 10 clans from Ifalik, only four of which correspond to the eight which are there now. My work with census and legends, and Spiro's with genealogies, provide so many cross-checks, including clan membership of every individual, that there is no possibility of error in our list of the eight clans. It seems that there must have been some misunderstanding between Sarfert and his informants or his interpreter. Below is the list collected by Sarfert, with his notation about place of origin. To the right are the comments of Wolpaitik, the only chief who happened to be in the canoe-house when I took Sarfert's list there, and of Tom. The order is changed so that the four names which refer to clans now functioning on Ifalik come first.

Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwalei	Called on Ifalik Saufalasik.	Apparently SauvelārIk. Other name unknown on Ifalik.
Monaulifer	From Yap.	Mangaulevār. Origin accords with legends collected in 1947.
Bwol	From Pulap.	Bwël. Origin mistaken. My informants thought that Pulap must have been written by mistake for *pulax*, the commonest kind of taro, because of the association of this clan with taro cultivation.

1: Burrows--91-92 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 618, 175 Ifalik

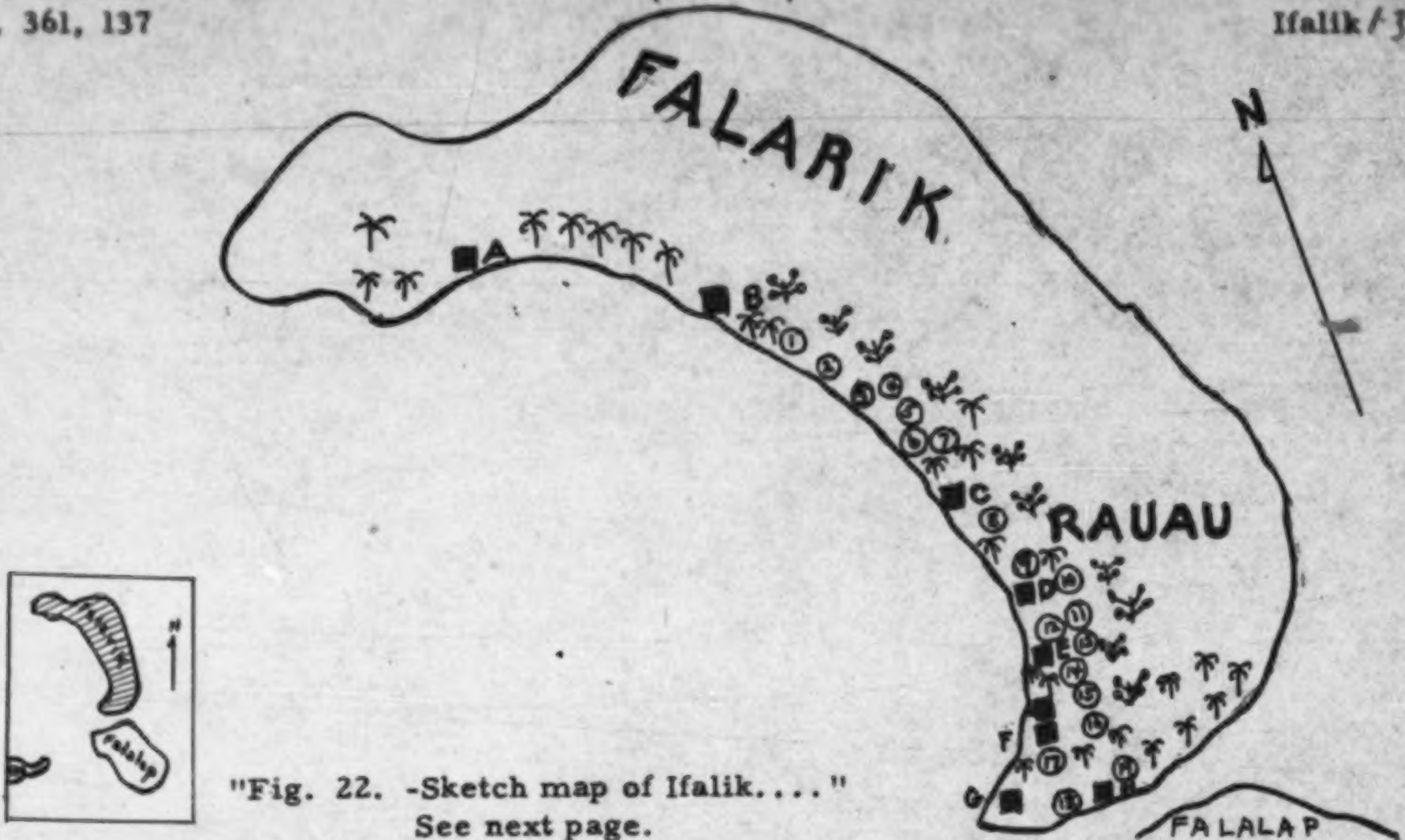
Clan name	Sarfert's Comment	Comment of Wolpaitik & Tom
Sauwol	From Woleai.	Sauwēl.. Origin incorrect. ' 'E talk lie', said Tom; Sauwēl like all the other clans, went to Woleai from Ifalik, not the other way. (See legends and discussion, pp. 139 ff.).
Saupolowat	From Puluwat.	Once represented on Ifalik. Died out long ago.
Wisusu	From Puluwat.	A clan of Puluwat and Truk. Never represented on Ifalik. [92]
Fanimei) Gadaman) Wolei)	From Yap.	Never represented on Ifalik.
Wuido	Called Djak.	Never represented on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--92 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618 Ifalik

"Conceptually and verbally, the clans are important units on Ifalik. The feeling of clan membership and solidarity is strong. People generally know the clan membership of everyone on the island, or nearly everyone. One of the commandments or exhortations that form a conventional part of the chief's speeches at public assemblies, is 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' Some of the chiefs in such exhortations address particularly the people of their own clan. Travelers from Ifalik are said to feel perfectly free to claim hospitality from their clansfolk in neighboring islands, and to reciprocate without question when clansfolk of other islands come to Ifalik, whether the claim is reinforced by previous acquaintance or not.

Yet clans never meet or act as units. Their only important effects on conduct seem to be the limitation they impose on marriage, and--a much weaker one--the effect of their rank on choice of a mate. House sites and chiefly titles are said to belong to clans, but actually are held and transmitted in the smaller groups to be discussed later (pp. 96-98)."

1: Burrows--92-A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 361, 137 Ifalik/3


FALARIK
RAUAU
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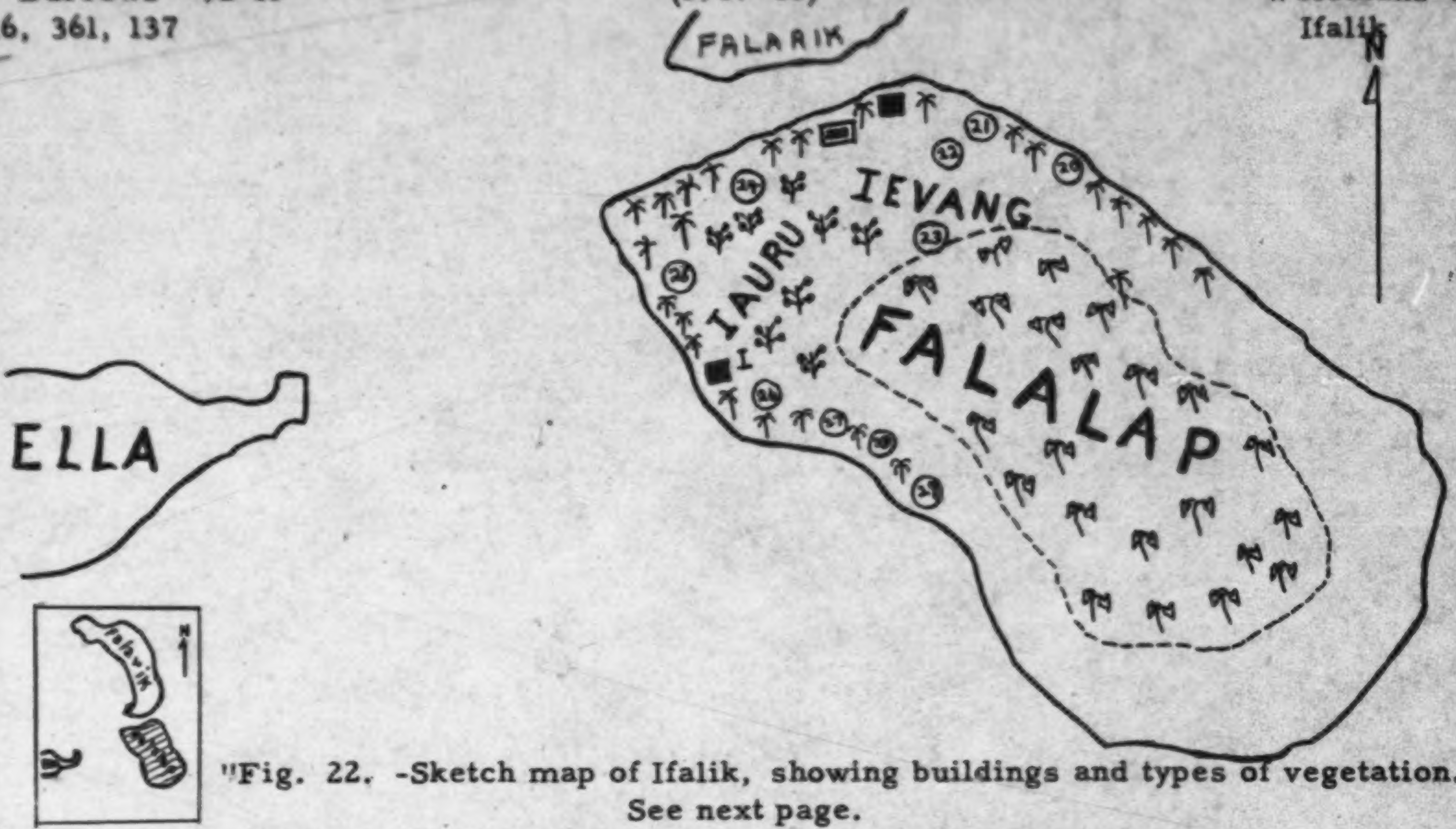
Falalap

"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik. . . ."
See next page.


FALARIK
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23
FALALAP
ELLA
Falarik

"Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation."
See next page.

1: Burrows--92-A
116, 361, 137

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3

"LEGEND

canoe-house	■
men's house	■
birth house	▣
coconut	🌴
breadfruit	🌿
taro	❦

Fig. 22. -Sketch map of Ifalik, showing buildings and types of vegetation.

Numbers designate homesteads, from north to south. Their native names follow: 1, FalolorIk; 2, Atrovalū; 3, Atiuwan; 4, Atielū; 5, Nuteitei; 6, Nimau; 7, Bwėnnau; 8, Falegumei; 9, Aulivang; 10, Faleoulėrix; 11, Uluas; 12, Fanneserax; 13, Xalingelū; 14, Foraix; 15, Welipeien; 16, Somat; 17, Falevelū; 18, Uelepi; 19, Uarigin; 20, Metalegop; 21, Apilimat; 22, Falūn; 23, Weluāra; 24, Gauong; 25, Auriela; 26, Leagago; 27, Fal i Trel; 28, Arotrang; 29, Ilux.

Canoe-houses, from north to south: A, Pa'ugop; B, Gajuteling; C, Fan ni Wā; D, Sabwōlap; E, Fale Pĕngā; F, Katēlū; G, Fan ni Wong; H, Paurĕl; I, Gavilea."

1: Burrows--92-93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592 Ifalik 1-2

"The buildings in which the people of Ifalik live are not isolated and self-sufficient, nor are they apartments in larger buildings. They are single-room structures, always grouped in clusters. Most often the clusters include several dwellings (im) and one cook-shed (malūm); but some have only one dwelling, while others have more than one cook-shed. What gives them their unity is location on distinct, named sites or homesteads. During our stay on Ifalik 29 homesteads were inhabited, as shown on the map, Fig. 22. The number of inhabitants to a homestead ranged from 3 to 19. Of the 29 homesteads, 12 were occupied by 6 to 9 persons.

Membership in a household--defined for this culture as the group inhabiting a homestead--is determined not only by common residence but also by kinship. The kinds of kinship ties that typically unite the members of a household in Ifalik appear in the following list, which sorts out into broad classes the 29 households that existed there in 1947-8.

(a) Three households consisted of simple families--father, mother, and children.

(b) Seventeen households were made up of joint families of the type usual when residence after marriage is matrilocal, that is to say, groups to which the married men belonged by virtue of marriage, the others by virtue of common descent. More explicitly, seven of these households comprised a married couple (or one surviving member), their unmarried children, their married daughters, the husbands of these daughters, and the children of these couples. Two of the largest households--one with 14 members, the

1: Burrows--92-93 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 592 Ifalik

other with 19--included two such groups. Seven more were similarly made up of kinsfolk related by common descent in the maternal line, plus the husbands of the married women. The exact membership of these varied with varying incidence of births, deaths, and marriages. But all conformed to the same type.

(c) Seven households included, in addition to an extended family, one or [93] more individuals, or families, more distantly related, or not recognized as kinsfolk at all.

(d) One household (Falūm) was made up of a family and a bachelor, the latter related only very distantly.

(e) One household (Uarigīn) was an extended family of the type brought about by patrilocal residence."

1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"All of the households which are not strictly matrilocal extended families include some deviation from matrilocal residence. To find out the extent to which this rule is observed, the type of residence exemplified by all the 60 married couples living on Ifalik in 1947-8 was reviewed. One case was not clear. Of the 59 others, 41, just under 70%, were matrilocal. Six were patrilocal, living on the husband's ancestral homestead. Twelve couples were heterolocal, living in various other places. Breach of the rule of matrilocal residence came to the rather high total of 18 couples, 30.5% of the total."

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1: Burrows--93 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 596 Ifalik

"The typical household, then, is a matrilocal extended family. Its composition is determined by common residence, matrilineal inheritance of the homestead, and matrilocal residence after marriage. Most of the households that do not conform strictly to this type have an extended family as a nucleus, with some additions on the basis of other claims or of simple congeniality. Given the predominance of the extended family as the basis of membership in a household, the few households that consist of simple families can be regarded as vestigial or incipient extended families. Only two households, (d) and (e), vary fundamentally from the type.

The extended family is not as clearly envisaged in native thought as the clan. There are several terms for groups of relatives smaller than the clan, but none of them is strictly synonymous with 'extended family'. One, _tral li votai_ (with a possessive suffix, in this case first person singular), means approximately 'all my relatives'--all who are recognized and treated as such. Another, _welimwales_, is also used in reference to some individual. Tom translated it as 'man, and women and boy blong that man.' Pressed to be more specific, he included the man's wife and sisters, and the children of both. These would not all be members of the same household or extended family. In the absence of a generic term for 'household,' particular households are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy."

1: Burrows--93-95 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik 1-6

"In order to bring out any common factor underlying cases of departure from matrilocal residence, the membership of households that include such cases is listed below. They are divided into three categories: (1) those which constitute extended families of the matrilocal type, but are not matrilocal in residence; (2) those which include a matrilocal extended family, but have some additional members who are not living matrilocally; and (3) those which include no examples of matrilocal residence. Most of the data were supplied by Spiro from his genealogies. Each case begins with the name of the homestead on which the group is living. Then follows, in parentheses, the name of the clan to which the site is said to belong; then the personnel of the household.

1. Households consisting of extended family of matrilocal type, but not exemplifying matrilocal residence:

> Atielu (Sauwēl). A man, his wife, and her sister. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home, so residence is heterolocal rather than patrilocal. If these people had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.
>
> Uluās (Sauwēl). A family: man, wife, and one child. The property belonged to his clan, but was not his childhood home. If he had not set up a new household by moving there, the homestead would have been unoccupied. [94]
>
> Metalegop (Bwēl). A family: man, wife and one child. The property belonged

to his clan: it is not clear whether he was brought up on it. If the family had not gone there to live, the homestead would have been unoccupied.

2. Households consisting of a matrilocal extended family, with additional members not matrilocal in residence:

Nimau (SauvelārIk). In addition to three women of the Sauvelārik clan, who apparently had been brought up here, the occupants included two families without hereditary claim to this homestead. The wives in these families are sisters, of the Mangaulevār clan. Why the families came to live here was not specifically stated. But if the household had not had some such addition, there would have been no men in it to perform the men's work necessary for subsistence.

Faleolarik (Kailangailuk). In addition to a typical extended family, the occupants included the chief Maroligar (SauvelārIk), his wife (Mangaulevār), and their adopted daughter. Their claim to the site--one rather remote from the native rule of inheritance--was that the homestead had been that of Maroligar's father. Apparently living here rather than on his wife's ancestral homestead was a matter of convenience.

Alingeliu (Sauwel). In addition to a rather complex extended family, including four adopted children, this homestead was occupied by a woman of Kovalū clan, with her daughter and the daughter's husband. They moved there after the death of a son of the older woman. No reason was given except her wish; but she made herself most useful by taking care of the numerous small children of the household.

Apilimat (SauvelārIk). In addition to two unmarried or widowed women who were brought up here, there were the following occupants: (a) a woman from Faleolārik (Kailangailuk), with her husband and children. She may have been adopted into this household. (b) A woman from Nimau (SauvelārIk), distantly related to this household. (c) A family-husband, wife, and two daughters-- none of whom had any hereditary claim to this homestead. Their reason for living here is not known.

Weluāra (Mangaulevār). In addition to a rather large extended family, the occupants of this homestead included a family of outsiders. The wife (hence the children) was of Rapevelū clan. The husband was of Mangaulevār, but from another homestead, Arotrang. No particular reason for their presence here was learned.

Falitrēl (SauvelārIk). In addition to an extended family, this household included an unmarried woman, whose connection was uncertain, and a married couple, whose only claim to the homestead was a distant relationship to the woman. She was of SauvelārIk clan, but had come from another homestead.

Fanneserax (Kailangailuk). In addition to a rudimentary extended family--two sisters who grew up here and the husband of one of them--the occupants were as follows:

(a) A widow from Nimau (SauvelārIk). Her husband had been of this clan. She had come here to live with him--a case of patrilocal residence--and had stayed on, with her three children, after his death. [95]

(b) One of (a's) sons and his wife, who came from Woleai. This was one of two reported cases of patrilocal residence after an interisland marriage.*

(c) A woman of Sauwēl clan, with her husband and their adopted son. She belonged to Alingeliu homestead next door and had moved

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"* The other was that of a woman from Bwagolei, a SauvelārIk homestead no longer inhabited in 1947-8. She had married a man from Elato and gone there to live with his people. Cases of interisland matrilocal residence were not collected, but were more numerous."

here, it was reported, just because she chose to, regardless of custom.

3. Households which include no examples of matrilocal residence.

Foraik (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The site was occupied by two women of Kovalū clan with their families. They moved in from Welipeien, next door.

Uarigīn (Rapevelū). The only member of this household who was brought up here is the chief Toromann. He brought his wife to live on his homestead, a case of patrilocal residence. They have a son and a daughter. The daughter is unmarried. The son also brought his wife (Kovalū) to this homestead. By means of these two cases of patrilocal residence, the homestead has remained occupied and suitably manned.

Falūn (Sauwel). The line that traditionally occupied this homestead died out. The occupants were a bachelor and a family. The bachelor's claim to the site was that his paternal grandfather lived there. The woman of the family had some similar, rather remote connection with the site. The reason given for this choice of residence was that the occupants wished to resettle this homestead, which had been deserted.

1: Burrows--93-95 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 591 Ifalik

This list of deviations from matrilocal residence indicates that the main reason behind it is depopulation. The occupants of a homestead, according to the pattern of matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence, die off. The homestead is kept occupied, or re-occupied, either by switching to patrilocal residence, or by acting on some more remote, sometimes quite far-fetched claim; or even without any hereditary claim to the site at all. In the case of men who keep their ancestral homestead occupied by bringing their wives there to live, a sentiment favoring continued occupation of the old homestead may be one of the motives. Another, which may be involved in all cases, and seems the most likely one when no hereditary claim in involved, is simply a wish to take advantage of the availability of a desirable site. Whether matrilocal residence would be more consistently observed if the population were constant or increasing, is a pertinent question. But no answer can be given from the data on Ifalik, where the population is diminishing. While depopulation seems to be the main reason for residence other than matrilocal, it is not the only one. Although matrilocal residence is customary, it is not insisted upon. Residence elsewhere is not condemned or punished. In Sumner's terminology, matrilocal residence is one of the folkways, but--unlike clan exogamy--not one of the mores."

1: Burrows--95-96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591 Ifalik

"Married men, as a rule, have two households. One is the household of the mother, sisters, and maternal ancestors, ordinarily the one in which a man was brought up. By analogy with a term in common use for family, this may be called the household of orientation. (In exceptional cases, as has been seen, the household of orientation may be other than that of the mother and her lineage.) The second is the household of a man's wife and her lineage, ordinarily that in which he lives with his family after marriage. This, according to the same [96] terminology, is his household of procreation. Even if he does not live there, he is closely linked to this household through his wife and children.

Women have, typically, only one household. They live on the same homestead all their lives, so for them the household of orientation and that of procreation are the same. In the comparatively few cases in which residence after marriage is patrilocal, it is the woman who has two households, the man who has only one. In other exceptional situations, where residence is heterolocal, both husband and wife may be said to have two households.

In any of these cases, an individual has close ties with more than one household. A man's welimwales--the women and children for whom he feels responsible--includes his mother and sisters, and his sisters' children, as well as his wife and own children."

1: Burrows--96 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 591, 881, 841 Ifalik

"Children who belong to the majority so far as their pattern of residence is concerned, --that is, who live in their mother's household and have not had their relationships complicated by adoption--feel a strong secondary relationship with their father's household of orientation. This is expressed in at least one formal pattern of behavior. The rite of passage called taurang, on the occasion of a girl's first menstruation, is celebrated at the homestead where she lives, ordinarily her mother's. But the women who bedizen her with turmeric paint, skirts, and necklaces, come both from that household and from her father's household of orientation. At the close of the ceremony, the girl, with all these women and any other women and children who may care to attend (men are not forbidden, but take no formal notice of these affairs), parades from her homestead to the ancestral homestead of her father. The four days of isolation which custom requires during menstruation are then spent in the menstrual hut on her father's homestead. After that, she may spend these periods either on her father's homestead or on her own. This particular custom is apparently recent, as formerly there was only one, or at most only a few places of seclusion for menstruating women on the whole atoll. But the parade, which also apparently symbolizes her relationship to both households, is ancient, as far as we know."

- 1: Burrows--96-97 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 592 Ifalik 1-2

"The people who inherit a homestead from generation to generation--as distinguished from husbands who come in by matrilocal residence--are all related by common descent in the maternal line. They are members, not only of the same clan, but of a subdivision of the clan, descended from a common ancestress less remote than the clan's traditional founder.

Although in Ifalik descent is not memorized by means of genealogies, the heirs to most of the homesteads are so closely related that a common ancestress is either alive or at least remembered by living descendants. In the three households which consist of simple families, the common ancestress--since husbands are excluded by definition --is of course the mother. These households conform to type only if they are living on her ancestral homestead. Otherwise they will found a new line, if the women stay on the same homestead, whatever its previous history, for more than a generation. In nearly all of the 17 households which consist of extended families, the common ancestress is either the oldest living woman or--when there is more than one in the oldest generation, or its only representative is a man--the mother of the oldest members. In only a few cases is the common ancestress more than one generation earlier than the oldest living resident. Similarly, in most of the households which have an extended family as a nucleus, the members of this nucleus have a common ancestress within two or three generations. It is only in the few atypical households, in which residence [97] other than matrilocal predominates, that a common ancestress is either lacking or too remote to be remembered.

Unless the homestead has been settled or reoccupied within a few generations, the remembered common ancestress was not the founder of the line. In homesteads long occupied, the line extends back farther than the people can trace it. Attached to each homestead are one or more ghosts, ancestral members of the line, thought to be still active for good or evil. Some of these, too, were in the flesh within memory of the living. But others seem to be more ancient, so that the connection can no longer be traced.

For lack of a better name, such a line of heirs to a homestead will be called a lineage. That term has been variously defined, and the Ifalik line of descent does not fit all the definitions. But it conforms to the broader ones.*"

"* Lowie has recently proposed the term 'kin' for groups of this character when the members can not trace relationship to a common ancestor. The groups he has in mind are commonly clusters of lineages, not only larger but more complex than those united by inheritance of an Ifalik homestead. It seems clearer here to retain the term 'lineage', which is in use for similar groups elsewhere in the Carolines. The Ifalik group could be made to conform to Lowie's definition of a lineage by excluding from membership ancestors whose genealogical position has been forgotten. But in Ifalik ghosts of some such ancestors are believed to be still active members of the group."

"On Ifalik the lineage is not clearly conceived as a descent group. The clan, which includes a number of lineages, is the only such group which is distinct in native thought. Lineages have no names. They are designated by the names of the homesteads they occupy. Thus they are not distinguished from extended families, although they differ from these in two respects: first, by including the dead; and second, by excluding husbands related only by marriage.

Nor was any name found for 'lineage' in general, to correspond to kailang for clan. The nearest I came to such a term was in a phrase expressing the preferred type of adoption, which is within the lineage: vam a li nibwogot. Vam means adoption or, with a possessive form, adopted child. A li are, as nearly as our grammatical terms can describe them, a preposition and definite article, which can be translated here as 'according-to-the-'. Ni is another preposition, 'in' or 'within'. Bwogot, usually followed by a possessive suffix, is the name for most of the real property inherited within a lineage. It includes the homestead, one or more separate tracts of coconut land (Tom usually translated it 'coconut land'); also, if I understand it rightly, any breadfruit groves not on the homestead; but not the tracts of hereditary taro swamp (bwel), although these are inherited in the same way. The English word which comes nearest to translating bwogot (though too broad) is 'estate.' So the phrase vam a li nibwogot can be clumsily translated 'adoption according to the within-the-estate (plan).' This labored

1: Burrows--97 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

attempt at translation seems worth while in order to show that native thought is focussed on the property, and uses it, perhaps unawares, as a symbol for the lineage within which the property is inherited."

I: Burrows--97-98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 423 Ifalik

"Although 'lineage' is an abstraction made by the ethnographer and not, at least explicitly, by the people themselves, adoption is only one of several ways in which it affects individual lives. The most important, because it governs the main source of subsistence, is inheritance of homesteads and food-producing land. In the realm of government, although chiefly titles are talked of as attributes of the clan, they are actually held within the lineage. Only the members of the clan's senior lineage are eligible to the succession. And in the realm of religion, ghosts of ancestors associated with homesteads--that is, in effect, with lineages--are among the supernatural beings most likely to affect [98] the lives of the living."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 588, 601, 611 Ifalik

"Extension of exogamy to some relatives on the father's side has already been noted. Marriage is forbidden, not only with the father himself, but with his children and his sister's children. This extension of the incest ban to some relatives on the father's side is suggested by the kinship terms, which are extended bilaterally. The term for mother is applied to father's sisters as well as mother's sisters; and the sibling terms are extended to all cousins recognized as such, on the father's as well as the mother's side."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 643, 611 Ifalik

"The statement of succession to chieftainship given me by the chiefs included a son as possible successor, though after brothers and sisters' sons. I found no case of such patrilineal succession. But then, the people keep so little of the past in memory that very few cases of succession were available. The very fact that the chiefs agreed on it as a possibility shows something of the importance attached to the father's line."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 611 Ifalik

"Finally, there is a curious recognition of descent through males in the mythology. The two bits of divine genealogy collected--that of the high gods, and that of the gods of navigation--are both patrilineal."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613, 592 Ifalik

"Although descent, inheritance, and succession are mainly matrilineal, the father's homestead and lineage are by no means ignored. The father's share in procreation is recognized. The father, by matrilocal residence, lives on the same homestead, usually in the same one-room dwelling, as the rest of the family. And he is not merely tolerated there, like an interloper. He is as much at home as those who inherited the site and has as much authority in ordinary household affairs as men of about his age in the mother's lineage.

Yet he has not lost either rights or obligations toward his own maternal lineage and homestead. And some of this is passed on to his children. Thus everyone inherits, through his father, a kind of secondary membership in the father's household. The parade of a girl to her father's homestead at the conclusion of her first menstruation ceremony has already been mentioned as a token of this relationship. Both boys and girls feel some obligation to contribute their services, and some claim to share in the products, of their fathers' households. The father's death weakens this relationship but does not end it. For the next generation, though, it dies out almost entirely. Only in exceptional circumstances would either obligations or privileges toward the people and property of one's paternal grandfather by strong enough to lead to action."

1: Burrows--98 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 428, 868, 463 Ifalik

"The most prized special skills and lores--those of navigation and canoe-building--are ordinarily taught by a father to his son or sons. A man may choose other apprentices; but a son is a particularly likely choice. Tom, as first navigator of Ifalik, taught seamanship to his eldest son; but also to his brother and wife's brother.

Coconut trees planted on someone else's land, as already noted, are inherited from father to son."

1: Burrows--98A (1947-48) Woleaians /-2
116; 612 Ifalik

"As suggested by the bilateral extension of kinship terms, a bilateral group of relatives or kindred also exists in each individual's mind. Its existence is proved by the fact that there is a name for it, --airō. The name was used by Tom in telling me where visitors on islands other than their own look for hospitality. He said they stay with their airō.

'What does that mean--airo? ', I asked him.

'All same clan.'

Taking a wrong turn on Tom's translation, I wrote this down as a term for fellow-clansmen. Spiro, in his more intensive and more internalized study of kinship, found that the term expresses the concept of a kindred. By 'all same clan,' Tom meant that the airō is a group much like a clan. Spiro's inquiries also showed that Tom's use of the word to me in connection with hospitality was typical; in other words, that hospitality is the main overt expression of the feeling of unity within the airō. One treats his relatives on the father's side with the same open-handedness as those on the mother's side. Another, negative expression of this feeling is the extension of exogamy to patrilineal relatives.

An airō meets as a unit. The nearest to such a meeting is the taurang ceremony, when the girl whose first menstruation is being celebrated is adorned by the women of her father's as well as her mother's household, and marches with them afterward from her mother's to her father's homestead. Indeed, it is only for a rite of passage or similar

1: Burrows--98A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 612 Ifalik

occasion, centered about one individual or at most one set of siblings, that such a group could very well assemble. For, by definition, its membership must vary for each set of siblings. Such groups are bound to exist mainly in the mind. No doubt that is why, as Murdock points out in 'Social Structure,' the existence of kindreds is frequently overlooked by ethnographers."

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) . Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik 1-4

"The terms used on Ifalik to designate relationships by descent and marriage are shown in the following table. These are exclusively terms of reference, not used in address. Whatever the relationship, people are addressed by their names, often shortened in familiar speech. The only term used in address that implies a relationship, so far as I learned, is autegi. This is not a kinship term but an endearment, sometimes used by a man to his wife when they are by themselves.

Kinship terms take possessive suffixes: tamai, my father; tamōm, your father; tamān or tamāl, his father; tamāre, our father; tamami, your (pl.) father; tamër, their father,[sic] The form used in the table is the first person singular. The third person singular appears also in composite terms. [99]

KINSHIP TERMS

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
+2	Paternal grandfather, tematemai. Descriptive composite terms for other grandparents: paternal grandmother, sin ni tamai, (mother of my father); maternal	Lineal terms extended to others of the same generation.	Descriptive composites, as tamatamān ni vetiai, paternal grandfather of my wife.

1: Burrows--98A-99
116, 601

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
	grandfather, tamān ni silei; maternal grandmother, sin ni silei.		
+1	father, tamai mother silei	mother's brother, manenepai (sometimes manenepei; extended within lineage; sometimes further within clan. Mother's sister, silei, extended; father's brother, tamai; father's sister, silei; both extended.	Descriptive composites, as tamān ni vetiai, father in law (father of my wife).

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 601 Ifalik

Generation	Lineal	Collateral	Affinal
0	sibling of same sex (brother of man, sister of woman) *bwisi*. sibling of opposite sex (sister of man, brother of woman), *moengai*.	*bwisi* and *moengai* extended.	spouse, *vetiai*. Other terms composite, as *bwisin ni vetiai*, sister-in-law (sister of wife) or brother-in-law (brother of husband); *moengān ni vetiai*, brother of wife, sister of husband.
-1	child, *lai*. (Son, *lai mwal*; daughter, *lai rowot*).	sister's child of man, *vatuwei*; extended within lineage. *Lai* extended to other nieces & nephews.	Descriptive composites, as *laun ni bwisin ni vetiai*, child of the sister of my wife, or child of the brother of my husband.
-2	grandchild, *launei*	*launei* extended.	Descriptive composites.

The system of classifying relatives exemplified by these terms is widespread in

1: Burrows--98A-99 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 601 Ifalik

Oceania, and has been called by a variety of names. The most generally used of late seems to be 'Polynesian system'."

1: Burrows--100-101 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 601 Ifalik 1-5

"Another [KS: system of classifying relatives] proposed by Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago, is 'generation system.' This specifies the distinguishing characteristic of the type: that the strongest category in classifying relatives is that of generation or genealogical level. No term is applied to relatives in more than one generation. The category of descent is weaker in that terms for relatives in the direct line are extended to apply also to relatives in collateral lines.

In so far as the category of generation is stronger than that of descent, the terminology used on Ifalik differs from the actual alignment of relatives in groups. In two of the groups, clan and lineage, the category of descent predominates. In the joint family, three categories are involved--descent, common residence, and marriage. There are no groups based on generation level, and groups based on common age, as already noted, are relatively weak.

Yet kinship terms are not so completely at variance with usage as might appear at first glance. Although people are not formally grouped by generation level, the informal grouping of males in canoe-houses follows a line of cleavage which approximates that of generation. Boys and young men (even after marriage) cluster by themselves. Much of the time they are separate from the older men, though a common task, or even common interest in the subject of a conversation, may bring the two groups together. The most distinct young men's groups were in the two northernmost canoe-houses, in the part of Falārik where there are no longer any dwellings. Older men generally congregated in the canoe-house nearest the homestead where they lived, so much of the time the youngsters had these canoe-houses to themselves.

Relative age is more generally important in that a senior outranks a junior. The clearest formal expression of this is in succession to chieftainship. It appears also in the form of a general attitude of respect and deference for elders. This is not elaborated by formal etiquette but is constantly perceptible.

At one crucial point the kinship terms make a distinction between lines of descent. This is in the use of separate terms for what we can only translate as 'father' (*tamai*) and what we can only translate as 'mother's brother' (*manenepai*). The same distinction appears in the reciprocals of these terms; that for 'child' or 'offspring' (*lai*--here there is no distinction of sex) and that for 'sister's child' (*vatuwei*).

Tamai is applied primarily to the father and to the men of his generation--mostly his brothers--who live, or lived before their marriage, on his ancestral homestead. If there is frequent association--which would ordinarily come about through neighboring residence--with more distant relatives on his side, the term would be applied also to them. Application of it to persons outside his clan (his father's father's brother's sons, for instance) is also usual, when association with such kinsfolk keeps the relationship in mind. In any case, this term, though rather widely extended to men of the older generation, ordinarily expresses a relationship through the father. Its most immediate use is to express the relationship to the father himself; next, that to his brothers; next, to other men, if any, of his generation and lineage. Similarly, manenepai applies primarily to mother's eldest brother; then to her other brothers; then to other men of her generation and lineage. When extended further, as all Ifalik terms can be when occasion demands, it would still express a relationship to a man of the parental generation through the mother. The distinction between tamai and manenepai, as most often used, is essentially one between father's lineage and mother's lineage.

The reciprocal terms manenepai and vatuwei express a special relationship of the kind that Radcliffe Brown calls dyadic (SS: 'all social relations of person to person'); and the kind that our students of personality usually mean when they speak of 'interpersonal relations.' The language of Ifalik, too, has a term for such relationships. Maru e malu means a pair of closely related individuals; it may be husband and wife, parent and child, siblings, or mother's brother and sister's son. [101]

The latter relationship, commonly called the avunculate, is important in Ifalik, as might be expected in a matrilineal, matrilocal society. But it is not extremely developed. It is not emphasized by ritual, nor by any formal privilege, nor reinforced by cross-cousin marriage. Cross-cousin marriage is permitted, but not required, nor even especially preferred.

The mother's brother can not be said to supplant the father, though his role includes some functions performed by the father in societies of a more patriarchal cast. Because of matrilocal residence, a young person's father usually lives in the same homestead with him, while a mother's brother, once he is married, does not. Yet the mother's brother is the most closely related older male in anyone's own lineage. He personifies the main source of livelihood, insofar as a man is a more appropriate representative or symbol of that than a woman is. The relationship is most conspicuous in economic reciprocity between males. The *vatuwei*, or sister's son (sometimes in a classificatory sense) is the heir presumptive of the *manenepai*, (or one of them,) and may be regarded as dependent on him for a livelihood. This imposes on the *vatuwei* an obligation which he discharges by services, particularly work performed for the *manenepai*. Specific examples of this will be given in the discussion of economic co-operation. When the *manenepai* is a chief, the *vatuwei* may succeed to the title, though younger brothers of the chief have first claim.

There is no corresponding special term for father's sister. She is one of the 'classificatory mothers', the term *silei* being extended to her. In this extension of the term, the category of common descent is disregarded; a father's sister can not be of the same clan as the mother, because of clan exogamy. No special powers are attributed to the father's sister, as in some Pacific islands; and no special obligations imposed on her reciprocal, the brother's child. Since father's sisters are the most closely related older women in the father's household, the relationship is kept in mind by the generally frequent

1: Burrows--100-101 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 601 Ifalik

association with that household. So the relationship is a rather close, kindly one; but there is no formal emphasis upon it."

1: Burrows--101-102 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 601, 593 Ifalik 1·3

"One of the characteristics of the type of kinship terminology to which that of Ifalik belongs is the way in which sex is specified in the terms for siblings. There is no term for 'brother' or male sibling, and none for 'sister' or female sibling. What the terms specify is whether the speaker and the sibling referred to are of the same sex or not. Bwisi means 'my sibling of the same sex' (brother, man speaking; sister, woman speaking). Moengai means 'my sibling of opposite sex' (sister, man speaking; brother, woman speaking).

This emphasis on unisexual or bisexual pairs, rather than on the sex of the individual referred to, suggests association with the incest ban. Polynesia shares this feature of kinship terminology; and in western Polynesia there is a formal pattern of avoidance between brothers and sisters. In Ifalik there is only a slight trace of such avoidance. Formerly, when unmarried youths slept in the men's house, brother and sister did not sleep under the same roof; but now that the men's houses are no longer used as bachelors' dormitories, and the young men sleep in their own homesteads, an unmarried man and his sister often sleep in the same dwelling. The only restriction on conversation between them is that sexual topics are forbidden; and that holds between men and women generally, except for married couples and lovers. The one trace of avoidance appeared when Tom, in Spiro's presence, refused to light a cigarette for a woman of his household. He gave as the reason that they were brother and sister. He said brother and sister may not eat food cooked over the same fire. [102] (He was using the term moengāl in an extended sense. The two were parallel cousins, their mothers having been sisters.) I have no data on how rigorously this prohibition is observed; but apparently, as often in Oceania, a food tabu has been extended to smoking.

On the positive side, the relationship between brother and sister is very close, and involves an obligation of mutual help. A man's welimwales, the women and children for whom he feels responsible, include his sisters and their children, as well as his wife and own children. Sisters, as well as mother and wife, lead in the wailing over a dead man's body before burial. When the chiefs, following the advice of the American physician, were haranguing the people about sanitation, urging them not to defecate on shore but use overwater toilets or go into the sea, one of them said, 'If a man is sick and can not go into the sea, let his wife or sister collect the feces and take them into the sea.'

Between siblings of the same sex there is also a close relationship of mutual helpfulness. They often work together, sisters in the taro patch or about the house, brothers fishing or making toddy. The only distinctive pattern I found was in a song which tells of two brothers going into the bush with the same sweetheart. When this song was dictated to me by the chiefs, they evidently knew it was something I was not used to. They laughed about it, loudly, and, I thought, a little uneasily. Tom said afterward that the practise is not rare. When asked if it applied to wives as well as sweethearts, he denied that emphatically. 'Very bad that--all same America.' He said that if a man went to another island, his brother might bring food to the wife and her children; but this was a matter of choice, depending on the state of feeling among the individuals concerned. When a man dies, his brother may marry the widow. But this practise (the levirate), is not required or regarded as particularly praiseworthy. My data do not show how prevalent it may be. Given the excess of women over men and the fact that polygyny, though said to be permissible, is not practised, many widows do not remarry.

The one little tabu between brother and sister, slight as it is, is the only pattern of avoidance between relatives to be found. Mothers-in-law are treated with respect and deference, but not avoided. The sight of a man eating a household meal with his wife, the children, and his mother-in-law is not uncommon. Conversely, there is no formally patterned intimacy of the kind usually called a joking relationship.

The bilateral extension of sibling terms, so that there is no distinction between parallel cousins and cross cousins, is reflected in the existence, at least conceptually, of a bilateral group of relatives or kindred (airō), discussed on p. 98."

"One of the striking characteristics of the social organization of Ifalik is the prevalence of adoption. Spiro worked out an estimate of the number of people in the population less than 20 years old. (As they do not keep track of chronological ages, this had to be based on relative ages.) The total came to 81. Of these, 32, or 39.5% had been adopted. A corresponding percentage for the older people was not worked out. (This would have been more difficult as adoption among them is less widely remembered.) However, as we see no reason to suspect a change in the prevalence of adoption, the estimate for the younger people probably indicates fairly well the proportion of adoptions in the population as a whole.

A request for a child is usually made before its birth. A childless mother (or even one who has children, but wants another) will ask a pregnant woman for her baby. Such a request may be refused, but custom exerts pressure in favor of granting it. Negotiations for adoption may also begin after the birth of a child, when someone takes a fancy to it. Although the negotiations seem to be conducted by the women, their husbands share in a decision about [103] giving or taking a child. In talking about adoption with men, adopted children were commonly referred to as the vam (adopted child) of the adopting father.

The adopting parents prepare to feed the mother after the birth of the child, in order that she may have plenty of milk. The adopting mother makes a special planting in her taro patch. When the expectant mother goes to the birth house to be delivered of the child, the adopted father goes fishing to provide food for her. Traditionally, he is expected to 'keep the fire going in the earth oven for 10 days', in order to feed the mother. Actually, the earth oven, the ancient way of cooking, is only used nowadays for cooking in greater quantities than usual, as when a turtle or large fish is caught. If a child is requested after his birth, the adopting parents are still under an obligation to give food, which then takes the form of a present to the biological parents.

Acquiring a new set of relatives by adoption does not mean renouncing the old ones. When adoption is within the lineage, it is only the parents who are changed, joint family and clan remaining the same. This is said to be the preferred kind of adoption. But the rule is not always observed. Adoption even from another clan is not uncommon. Six cases were noted in my preliminary census. Spiro's genealogical study later revealed many cases of adoption of which I was not told when taking the census, so adoptions without the clan are undoubtedly much more numerous than that.

When adopted into another household, a child's home is primarily with its adopting parents. But it knows perfectly well who its original parents were, visits freely with them, and may spend the night at their house whenever it cares to. When adopted into another clan, it acquires something like a double clan membership. It may not marry either in the clan into which it was born or in that into which it was adopted.

One of the functions of adoption is to express and reinforce good-will between two

1: Burrows--102-103 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 597, 162 Ifalik

families. Another one, obviously, is to continue a lineage which otherwise would become extinct."

1: Burrows--104 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 471 Ifalik

"The manual operations by which the people of Ifalik get a living from the soil and sea around them have been discussed under the heading 'Technology' [KS: pp. 27-44]. This chapter is concerned with the standards and practices that organize this activity; in other words, with the patterns that govern the control of material goods and the work of producing and distributing them."

1: Burrows--104-105 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 421 Ifalik

"The concept of ownership of material wealth that prevails in Ifalik differs from our own. Ownership there is not absolute to the verge of irresponsibility, as in our economic system. A doctrine generally accepted among us--'It's nobody's business what I do with my own property'--would hardly be understood in Ifalik; or, if understood, would be indignantly condemned. Individual possession of material goods is, to be sure, a familiar idea with them. It is explicitly expressed in their language by possessive suffixes and adjectives. But in effect the individual 'owners', to whom these forms of speech refer, are no more than members of groups which share in the right to use the property; or else, in the case of those who have authority over its use by others, managers on behalf of the group. The whole group is the real owner, in our sense of the term. The nominal owner is either a co-owner or a trustee.

This contrast must not be taken as diametrical opposition. With us[105] too, there is of course a sense of public responsibility in ownership of some kinds of nominally private property; particularly property which the public uses and depends on, --public utilities, common carriers, and the like. This sense of public responsibility seems to have been growing stronger among us during the 20th century. But there is still a decided difference in degree between our concept of ownership and the one which prevails in Ifalik."

1: Burrows--105 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 471 Ifalik 1-2

"Most of what we would call public property is called in Ifalik the property of the chiefs. One example is the main roads or paths of the two islands; one running along the lagoon side of Falārik between the houses and the shore; the other a 'belt line' around Falārik close to the taro swamp. Another example is the big seines kept in the canoe-houses. The men's house and the plot of land around it, including the overgrown site of the former men's house--all regarded as a unit and called by the one name Katēlū--is also considered property of the chiefs. In this case the ascription to them has additional force, for one of the functions of Katēlū is to symbolize chiefly dignity and authority.

This concept, ownership by the chiefs of property not used by them more than by everybody else, suggests at first glance the feudalism of medieval Europe. But the resemblance is superficial. While ostensibly the chiefs can do as they please with this property, actually what they please to do is limited by tradition. It never has occurred to them to allot exclusive use of the road or seines to favored retainers, in return for services like the military services of feudal Europe. The former use of the men's house as a dormitory for unmarried youths, and the fairly definite tasks assigned to them, look more like services owed the chiefs in return for use of the chiefs' property. But the natives apparently did not think of the young men's work as room rent; at least the youths still perform definite tasks--so far as we know, the same as before--now that they no longer sleep in the men's house. Nor have the chiefs ever thought of selling or trading these properties of theirs, or reserving them for their own exclusive use. Such uses of the properties seem inconceivable to them; hence, for all practical purposes, might as well be forbidden.

There is no telling what may happen in the future, as the influence of a foreign concept of property grows stronger. However, one other likely result of increasing foreign influence would be waning power of the chiefs. That would tend to counteract any inclination toward tyrannical disposal of property. But the outcome of such a pull between opposed tendencies, as complicated by an indefinite number of other pulls, is impossible to predict.

Meanwhile, what the chiefs do with such property is virtually the same as what our government officials do with property entrusted to their charge. Both issue orders controlling the use and upkeep of the property for the common benefit. For instance, fishing with the big seines, and repairing or replacing them, are done only on order of the chiefs. But fish caught with the seines are distributed among all the households whose men have done the fishing. If there are enough fish to go further, some will be sent to other districts. And when all districts take part in the fishing, the catch is distributed among the whole population."

1: Burrows--105-106
116, 427, 643

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"In distributing a large catch, the chiefs are allotted some fish in their capacity as chiefs, in addition to what they may receive as senior members of households. But this seems to be tribute--a prerogative of rank, or token of respect for rank. To regard it as rental for use of the seines would be incongruous with the general pattern governing disposal of property. On this point, I have no statement from a native, one way or the other. Such a statement, if obtainable, would have little value. It is doubtful whether any of them could be made to understand the concept of rent, without going abroad and having experience of its operation. Tom, in his six years of residence in [106] Manila, has undoubtedly done that. But he has thereby become less trustworthy as an informant on how the natives think of their disposal of property,--except where a statement of his fits native behavior but would be incompatible with our own. The best procedure seemed to be to observe native behavior closely; to ask few questions, and these preferably of the chiefs or others less familiar with foreign ways than Tom; to try to make these inevitable questions as simple and comprehensible as possible; and to interpret these data according to the simplest and most consistent scheme that would account for what the people do. Such a scheme unquestionably requires some notion of reciprocity; but our notion of rent would not fit without broadening its meaning almost beyond recognition."

1: Burrows--106 (1947-48) Woleaians r-2
116, 423, 343 Ifalik

"Canoe-houses are in effect public property, or at least property of the men of the neighborhood, most of the time. Yet nominally each one belongs to one or two individuals, and occasionally one is used as private property. They shelter all the sailing canoes and larger paddling canoes whose owners live nearby, and some of the little single-seat rosemāni. (The rest of the rosemāni are either left on the beach or kept in little sheds, erected usually on the shoreward end of the owner's homestead land.) Canoe-houses are also used as club-houses by the men and boys (especially taremwanni, older boys) of the neighborhood, who spend there most of their daytime leisure--and they have plenty of it. They are used, too, for the men's lighter work, not only rope-making, but the making of nets and traps; and as carpenter shops for building canoes. Finally, they are guest-houses for visitors from other islands, who sleep there and are fed by presents from chiefs or relatives.

The canoe-houses from north to south, with their owners as given by Tom, are as follows:

1. Pa'ugop -Totogoeiti (Tom) and Arovalimen
2. Gajuteling -Ilegemwār
3. Fan ni wā -Totogoeiti
4. Sabwōlap -Gabwileisei
5. Fale Pĕngā -Fagaulīr
6. Katēlū -north side, Maroligar and Totogoeiti

south side, Toromȧnn

7. Fan ni Wong -WolpaitIk
8. Pa'auēl -Wolpetau
9. Gavilea -WolpaitIk and Wolpetau

In this list Tom allotted to himself, under his native name Totogoeiti, ownership of two and a quarter canoe-houses, while his nearest rivals, the chiefs Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, have only one and one-half each. This may reflect his insatiable thirst for glory. Particularly suspect is his claim to a share with Maroligar in the north side of the canoe house at Katēlū. This is next to the men's house, shares the same name and, in lesser degree, the same chiefly eminence. It was used by the chiefs during our stay for meeting among themselves, though not for public assemblies. Tom is of the same lineage as Maroligar, and claims to be heir-apparent to his chieftainship; a rather tenuous claim, as he is older than Maroligar, though his junior genealogically. By an unfortunate oversight, I failed to check this list by getting one from somebody else. However, there is no reason to question the pattern of nominal ownership by one or two men."

1: Burrows--106-107 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 423, 343 Ifalik

"Through most of our stay, Tom was using one of the canoe-houses he called his own, Fan ni wā, as a workshop for building his sailing canoe. For a time his son used the other, Pa'ugop, for building a small canoe. Other canoes were sheltered in both houses at the same time, but only on the busiest working days did the work interfere with the usual neighborhood meetings. [107]

We saw only one other instance of private use of a canoe-house. For a time the seaward side of one of them, Fale Pĕngā, was temporarily walled in, and the family of the owner slept there. This was not during the last part of the west-wind season, a time of heavy rain, occasional strong wind, and constant danger of hurricane, when a man might well want the more substantial shelter of the canoe-house. It was during the trade-wind season, when there was no need for better than ordinary shelter. If the trouble had been a leaky roof, it could have been rethatched in half a day. That was not done during the brief residence of the owner in the canoe-house. To the question 'Why?', the answer was simply that he and his family thought they would like to sleep there for a while. After a week or so they moved out again. This instance shows that the claim to ownership is more than nominal. But it is rarely exercised. Ordinarily the only requirements for constant use of a canoe-house are residence in the neighborhood, and masculinity. Women hardly ever enter a canoe-house: rarely even pass in front of one. (We were told one story--submitted as true, but remembered because it was considered funny--of illegal sexual relationships between an Ifalik man and a Mogmog woman, on a platform

1: Burrows--106-107 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 423, 343 Ifalik

over the tie-beams of a canoe-house in Mogmog. But this account of behavior abroad--behavior as improper as it would be with us--is hardly an exception to the rule that Ifalik women keep out of canoe-houses.)"

1: Burrows-107 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 343, 423, 643 Ifalik 1-2

"The two southernmost canoe-houses on Falārik island, Fan ni Wong and Pa'ugop, were not in daily use for light work and loafing, like all the others. Pa'ugop, on the channel between the two islands, was indeed busy and populous on special occasions, as when the population of Falārik island was crossing to Falālap for a religious ceremony. At least twice during our stay feasts were held beside this house; once to celebrate the conclusion of a thatching job, once--as I recall it--to partake of an especially good haul of fish which Rauau and Falālap men both had a hand in catching. But on ordinary days it was deserted, or nearly so. More frequently occupied was a small building beside it which served as a workshop, especially for the women of the nearest household, that of chief Toromānn. The next canoe-house to the north, Fan ni Wong, was still less used. Most of the time there was no-one in it, and I never saw more than one or two there except when the men of the adjacent household, Uelepī, gathered there for some common task.

These two canoe-houses adjoined, on opposite sides, the homestead Uelepī, which as the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of the clan Kovalū was the highest-ranking dwelling site on the atoll, and was tabu to outsiders. The butchering of turtle, reserved to Kovalū, was done in a little grove between Uelepī and Fan ni Wong, but nearer to the canoe-house than the dwellings. The question arises whether the aura of rank and sanctity from Uelepī extended to the two canoe-houses, and made men feel less free to use them. This is possible; but in telling us of the tabu on Uelepī, Tom said nothing of its extending to the canoe-houses. The nominal 'owner' of Fan ni Wong was WolpaitIk, a chief but not of Kovalū clan. (He lived at Uelepĩ by virtue of marriage to a Kovalū woman.) The owner of Pa'ugop was Wolpetau, highest ranking chief, of Kovalū clan and Uelepĩ lineage. But this site, though not the canoe-house itself, was most frequented by the household of the lesser chief Toromānn, of Rapevelū clan. On the whole, it seems most likely that the reason for these canoe-houses being less frequented than the others was simply that there were few dwellings nearby. In addition, Fan ni Wong was off the main road; and, because currents had been building a sandy point to seaward of it, was farther from water than any other canoe-house."

1: Burrows--107-108 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 501, 643 Ifalik 1-2

"Canoes have individual owners. The degree of exclusiveness in their use varies inversely with the size of the canoe. That is, the little rosemani are commonly used rather like private property by the owner and his family for [108] transportation and small-scale fishing. Members of other households do not take out these small canoes without permission. But a larger paddling canoe, still more a sailing canoe, is used most often for fishing by larger parties, usually a district undertaking. Since the owners are usually men of some age, while the fishing is done most often by the youths, the owner of a canoe often does not go out with it on a fishing trip. He has no special claim to the catches made in his canoe. If the chiefs ask his permission to have it taken out, this is more an assignment than a request. He would have difficulty in justifying a refusal, unless the canoe was unseaworthy. In that case it would be his duty to see that it was repaired.

Canoes for sea-burial are similarly assigned. Tom seemed proud to have his new canoe used for the burial of the chief Paliuilimar, who died soon after it was completed. It was kept in the canoe-house nearest the chief's residence; but was not the only sailing canoe there. The reason Tom gave for using it was 'because it is the biggest.' Both the dead chief and the owner of the canoe were honored. An owner would not undertake an interisland voyage in his canoe without permission of the chiefs, and would take passengers without expecting payment. In sum, the owner of a large canoe, as of a

1: Burrows--107-108 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 423, 501, 643 Ifalik

canoe-house and most other property, is in effect more a custodian than an owner as we think of ownership. Large canoes, like canoe-houses, come very near being public property."

1: Burrows--108 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 643, 618 Ifalik 1-2

"Asked whether there is such a thing as clan property, Tom said there is. The reef and the lagoon, he declared, belong to his clan, SauvelārIk. Members of other clans fish there only on sufferance. Now Tom was always inclined to make the most of any claim to distinction in which he could share, whether the distinction was his own exclusively, or that of his clan, or that of Ifalik as against other islands. I asked him whether other clans had similar claims. He was not sure, and, as usual, referred the question to the chiefs. The first to hand were Maroligar and Toroman. They talked it over, but did not give me an answer. 'Some other chief', Tom explained, 'might say 'This chief, 'e lie'.'

All five chiefs then held a meeting and discussed the question long and vehemently. Then they issued, through Tom, an official answer. No clan, neither SauvelārIk or any other, they declared, has exclusive claim to the use of reef and lagoon. They belong to all the chiefs. Ordinarily it is all right for anyone to use them; but if there is a shortage, as during the time after a hurricane, the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little'; in other words, may ration what food there is.*

"* As this decision was an act of the government, it will be discussed again from that point of view."

1: Burrows--108
116, 423, 643, 618

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

This pronouncement did not dispose of the question of clan property other than the reef and lagoon. It was not until later that I learned of the exclusive right of Kovalū clan to turtle, and of Sauvelārlk to yellow-fin tuna. These were the only cases found of exclusive claims to property on the part of clans. Actually, these are not instances of ownership in the ordinary sense, but prerogatives of rank; for these two clans hold the highest chiefly titles."

1: Burrows--108-109 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592, 423, 613 Ifalik 1-2

"Homesteads are spoken of as belonging to particular clans. Again the association with rank in the case of Kovalŭ and Sauvelărĭk provides the clearest cases. The homestead Uelepĭ, as just noted, is said to be tabu to all but members of the clan and the husbands of the women--women of the senior lineage of Kovalŭ--who live there. Sauvelărĭk has a similar homestead, Tom hastened to assure me--Bwagolei, inland from the men's house, a site no longer inhabited.

In the beginning of our census by households, Tom said that the homestead Ilux, where the highest chief, Wolpetau, lived, 'blong Wolpetau.' [109] He added that it was a homestead of the clan Bwĕl. But Wolpetau's clan is Kovalū. In living at Ilux, his wife's ancestral homestead, he follows the custom of matrilocal residence. The homestead 'belongs to him' in the sense that he lives there and, being the senior male, may have the final word, if he cares to, about household activities other than routine.

When we came to the homestead Val i Trel, Tom said 'Blong Wolpaitĭk', though Wolpaitĭk lives at Uelepī. This is ownership in another sense. Val i Trel is Wolpaitĭk's ancestral homestead, but, following the custom of matrilocal residence, he has not lived there since he married. How much interest he takes in the affairs of the household is a matter of choice with him. Any wish of his would be respected, and might well be carried out. But ordinary affairs of this household would only concern him by way of his responsibility for his sister, who lives at Val i Trel. If the sister had sons,

1: Burrows--108-109 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 592, 423, 613 Ifalik

Wolpaitik would have an additional interest on their behalf; but as it happens she is childless.

These cases illustrate a point already made in the discussion of homestead, household, and lineage. Homesteads are occupied and used by households, which are typically extended families; and they are inherited within maternal lineages. For practical purposes that statement covers the question of actual ownership, as distinguished from the imputed ownership by clans or individuals. In other words, title to the homestead is inherited within a group whose existence the natives never explicitly acknowledge--the lineage. Usufruct of it belongs to the household."

"A man will say bwogotai--'my coconut land', as Tom translated it-- either of tracts in which he has inherited a share through his mother, or tracts inherited in his wife's lineage, in which he shares the usufruct by virtue of living on her homestead and gathering coconuts and breadfruit for the household. When Tom said of a bit of coconut land through which we were passing, 'This my land', I asked him if it belonged to him and nobody else. He answered, 'Me and my sister and my sister's boy,' the lineage again. I happen not to have a specific statement referring to land of the wife's lineage, but general discussions of the matter suggest that he might say first 'This my land'; then, if pressed, 'blong my wife and my boy.'

Ownership and inheritance of tracts in the taro swamp conform to the same rule. But in this case they are verbalized differently. Taro patches are spoken of as the property of any of the women who work them, or of their clan. Thus when Tom and his wife Lagajarong took us through the taro swamp so that she might give us a demonstration of weeding and planting, he said of the particular tracts we visited, not 'my land' but 'blong my wife.' He added proudly that she had inherited seven such patches. To my usual follow-up question, he said they were patches belonging to her clan, Mangaulevar. When he pointed out a particularly large stretch as belonging to Wolpetau, I unfortunately failed to follow up the statement; but suspect that this land, or at least some of it, was inherited by Wolpetau's wife as a member of a lineage of Bwël clan.

1: Burrows--109 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423 Ifalik 1-2

"All the land on the atoll, except for the road, the sites of the men's house and canoe houses, and the beach between high and low water mark, is divided into tracts, which have names like those of the homesteads. The boundaries of these tracts are supposed to be a matter of common knowledge; at least, those directly concerned seem to have no doubt where they are. Any natural object--most often, apparently, a coconut tree no different from any other--serves as a boundary mark."

1: Burrows--109
116, 423, 613, 241

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Members of that clan, traditionally associated with taro culture and now reduced to 11 members, probably have more taro land than they can care for. In this case, probable reasons for naming the chief rather than his wife as owner are his rank and the fact that as a public figure he was well known to me, while his wife was not."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 231, 423 Ifalik

"Domestic animals are, in effect, household property, except that ownership of dogs --or some of them--seems to be more individual. There are perceptible attachments between some dogs and some individual masters. The masters, at least when they are grown men, may feel free to dispose of these dogs without consulting the rest of the household. Tom got his dog in that way, as a gift from a friend on Faraulep. I heard of no gifts of pigs--their scarcity makes that less likely--nor even of chickens, though a cooked chicken may be offered as a gift of food. Ordinarily pigs and chickens are regarded as part of the household supply of food."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423 Ifalik

"To anyone accustomed to the rigor with which titles are searched and boundaries surveyed in our culture, the Ifalik system of land tenure must seem loose and vague. Yet it works satisfactorily. As long as there are enough coconuts, taro, and-in season-breadfruit to go around, their way of locating boundaries, which they consider exact but which might be open to question if tested closely, causes no difficulties. Presumably it would be quite a different matter if these crops were scarcer, or if foreign influence increased to a point where land was more intensively cultivated (if that is feasible), and productive of more than subsistence. Difficulties would almost certainly arise if the land became desirable to foreigners, and so began to be sold. In such a case the surveys, hearings and disputes that have tormented administrators of many other Pacific islands might be expected. But so long as the poor soil of Ifalik is of no interest to foreigners the native system of land tenure will suffice. We heard of no disputes over ownership of land."

1: Burrows--110 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 423, 613 Ifalik

"Certain coconut trees are owned and inherited in a special way. Although the run of the trees in the coconut groves 'go with the land' according to the scheme just described, custom allows any man to ask permission to plant coconuts on another's land. As far as learned, refusal of such a request is unheard-of. But such a planting would never be on a large scale. Only a small, even number of trees--usually two or four--will be planted. Half of them will belong to the owner of the land; more precisely, to his household and eventually his lineage. The other half will belong to the man who planted the nuts. And these will not be inherited according to the usual pattern, within his maternal lineage. They will pass to his son, and so on, patrilineally.

The advantage of this special kind of ownership is convenience. When a man gets thirsty, no matter where he is, he will probably own a coconut tree not far away where he can get a young nut to drink. Coconut trees and the fruit on them are very definitely not public property. Asked whether a man might take a nut from a tree that did not belong to him, Tom said 'very bad that.' Having a tree of your own nearby reduces temptation to steal."

1: Burrows--110-111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 423, 643, 576 Ifalik

"Tom added that it would be all right for us, since we were foreigners and had no trees of our own, to take nuts from other people's trees. But in practise the chiefs, as our hosts, kept us in drinking nuts, getting them from their own trees. Usually that meant from trees on land belonging to their lineage; but some nuts were given us from trees on Katēlū, nominally chiefs' property. And at least once we were regaled from a tree owned in the other way. After a stint of census-taking, I asked for a nut to drink. Wolpetau, who was with us during the first part of the census, assumed the obligation to provide drinking nuts for the two of us, because of his rank. (If he had not been present, the head of the household would have had them brought to us.) Wolpetau directed a boy to a particular tree near by, which belonged to him. [111]

In discussing this, Tom said there were other men who owned more trees than Wolpetau. Could Wolpetau, as highest-ranking chief, commandeer nuts or trees belong to another? Yes, Tom answered; if Wolpetau wanted some, 'no can keep 'im.' When the same question came up in another connection, though, Tom denied any such right. Pretty surely the question is 'academic'. Though such a right would often be accorded a chief in discussing the extent of his authority, a chief would never think of exercising it, unless perhaps, in an emergency, for public use."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 422, 227 Ifalik

"The smaller fish-traps made by individual men are used, primarily by the maker, in small-scale fishing for his household. Any male member of the household--male, because women do not take part in this kind of fishing--would feel free to use such a trap, but would pretty surely ask the maker first, if there was any chance of his wanting to use it himself."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 422, 431, 462 Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

1: Burrows--111
116, 424, 868, 428, 504

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The only property which may pass patrilineally, beside coconut trees planted on another's land, is an intangible: the lore of a navigator or master-builder. The apprentice of such a specialist is typically his son. But this property is not rigidly entailed. Tom was teaching his navigator's lore to his eldest son while we were there; but he was also teaching it to his brother-in-law, and had already finished teaching it to his brother, Magaleisei, who had won recognition as *palu.* As part of this property, Tom had taught these pupils or apprentices his songs for divine guidance in navigation, including the long one which was not common knowledge among navigators, but which he regarded as his own special prayer. It had come to him patrilineally, from his father, who got it in turn from *his* father. I failed to check on whether, in either case, he used the English word 'father' in a classificatory sense. If so, it would not change the patrilineal pattern of inheritance--if that term may be applied to what is not simply given, but taught. But the most remote transfer of this prayer which he remembered was not patrilineal. The grandfather had received it from his father-in-law. The exclusiveness or secrecy with which this lore is kept, and the fact that the owner may bequeath it at will, make it more strictly private property than any other discussed so far. Yet the voyages achieved by the skill of the navigator, and the canoes built by that of the shipwright, are used for the benefit of others as well as himself. So ownership of this lore is a trusteeship, like ownership of all kinds of property on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301, 431, 422 Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

1: Burrows--111-112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 227, 422 Ifalik

"Larger fish-traps are made in the canoe-houses by groups of men, usually [112] of the same neighborhood but not necessarily of the same household. They are kept in the canoe-house, and taken out in large sailing canoes, on the order of a chief. As these are usually district expeditions, the traps are virtually district property."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 286, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Cloths are often woven by the women for immediate wear, whether by the maker or some other member of the household. Clothing once worn is rather definitely individual property, as it is almost everywhere. How much sharing of it there is among women, or men, of the same household, or among close friends, like the proverbial college room-mates in our culture, I could not make sure. Such sharing is not conspicuous, and my impression is that it is not very common. A man often keeps a loin-cloth in the neighborhood canoe-house, for a change. I never heard of anyone else touching such a cloth.

An industrious weaver will accumulate a surplus. They are her property in the sense that she has 'first say' as to their disposal. She may wear any of them herself, or give one to whomever she chooses. She may offer one to a god, to be hung up in the men's house. If anyone in her household asks for one, or perceptibly needs one, she will feel an obligation to give it; though she still has some choice about which one to give. If a relative or neighbor dies, she will be obliged to give one or more cloths or sleeping mats as an expression of grief and an honor to the dead, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--112 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 422, 462 Ifalik

"Rope made by the men follows exactly the same pattern. It is often made for immediate consumption, and readily given. If we were wrapping up a package for shipment, we had only to ask whoever was in the near-by canoe-house, saying what size we wanted and how long, and he would immediately make it for us, no matter how many coils might be hanging in the canoe-house ready for use. These were the property of their makers, to be used as they saw fit, and were never taken by others. But if rope were needed for any more or less communal use--lashing for a large canoe, or for the timbers of the canoe-house, or line for a seine,--every man of the community concerned would feel an obligation to contribute. I did not hear of shirking such an obligation, but have no doubt that if such a case came to the attention of a chief, he would order the man to give rope or make it. And every male relative or neighbor contributed rope after a death, to be wrapped about the body."

1: Burrows--112-114 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462 Ifalik 1-7

"Labor

The emphasis in the following discussion, as distinguished from what has been said about work in the section on technology, is on the allotment of tasks among the population and the direction and organization of those in which more than one person takes part.

The fundamental line of cleavage in division of labor, that by sex, has been sketched here and there under 'Technology.' The following table affords a synopsis and adds some details, without pretending to be exhaustive. The tasks biologically allotted to women, bearing and suckling children, are not included. Nor is their time-consuming sequel, child care. One reason for this is that the care of children devolves to some extent on whoever is available for it. The main burden falls on the women. But older children keep an eye on younger ones to a greater extent than with us. And men love to play with children. Not only does a man frequently hold a small child on his lap or keep it near him when he is at home; he will often take one to the canoe-house, where other men may [113] help to keep it amused. But the main reason for dismissing this subject in a few words is that it is vital to Spiro's problem of personality formation, and will be fully discussed by him.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
Production of food	Planting, cultivating, & harvesting taro Gathering wild plant foods	Planting trees Gathering coconuts & breadfruit Making & collecting toddy	Planting and gathering bananas
	Fishing about boulders in shallow water (infrequent)	Fishing by the commonest methods: with hook & line, traps, weirs, & nets	Bonito drive: when a school enters lagoon (women's role subordinate).
	Gathering shellfish & other sea-food on exposed reef by day	Torchlight fishing with dip-nets, on reef and in lagoon	Scouring reef at night in household or family parties.
	Digging coconut crabs	Gathering small crabs to bait traps	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		Making nets, traps & other fishing tackle.	
Preparation of food	Grating coconuts, extracting cream. Preparing taro & breadfruit		
	Daily cooking in cook-sheds	Occasional cooking in earth oven, when large fish are caught or a hog butchered	
	Cooking for feasts and for work-gangs	Broiling fish to be shared by fishermen or other working parties	
		(No. 1 chief only: butchering and cooking	

1: Burrows--112-114 116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-4 Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		turtle)	
		Carving wooden bowls (obsolescent)	Making coral pounders to mash taro & breadfruit
House-building	Plaiting screens and floor-mats	Hewing, fitting and assembling timbers	(Mostly youths) Gathering & strewing coral gravel for [114] floors & platforms
		Putting thatch on roof	Plaiting thatch-sheets
Canoe-building		Hewing, fitting &	

1: Burrows--112-114
116, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians-5
Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
		assembling timbers; painting hull	
	Plaiting strips of mat for sail	Assembling and rigging sail	
Navigation		All navigation	
Preparation of clothing	Preparation of bast for weaving	Making looms	Preparing head-dresses, garlands & other finery
	Weaving & dyeing		
	Assembling belts, necklaces and other ornaments of shell	Cutting shell and turtle shell into beads for belts, strips for	

1: Burrows--112-114 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 462 Ifalik

Activity	Women's Work	Men's Work	Both Sexes
	or turtle-shell*	bracelets, etc.*	
Basketry	Plaiting baskets of cured, doubled coconut leaf Plaiting pandanus baskets		Plaiting makeshift baskets of green coconut leaf.
Mats	All plaiting of mats		
Cordage	Preparing sennit fiber	Twisting rope	

The arrangement by activities, though it seemed on the whole more illuminating than any other, obscures some generalizations that could be indicated more clearly in some

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"* Working in shell is a rather infrequent task. Necklaces and ear-ornaments are not abundant; and while nearly every woman has a belt, most of these are obtained by trade from other islands, especially Eaurupik."

1: Burrows--112-114 (1947-48) Woleaians-7
116, 462 Ifalik

other way. For example, woodwork, even the making of such a woman's implement as the loom, is virtually a monopoly of the men; while weaving and plaiting, except for makeshift coconut baskets, are women's monopoly."

1: Burrows--114 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 285 Ifalik

"Men are not scorned, however, if they trespass into basket-making. The chief Maroligar had learned on another island--Faraulep, I think--how to plait a large, round basket of doubled coconut leaf that the women found convenient for storing fiber for weaving. Maroligar made several of these baskets for female relatives. This seems to be one of the matters in which room is left for individual taste and aptitude. Maroligar was much more industrious than most of the men; deft with his hands, and something of a putterer. Some of the things he enjoyed doing reminded me of a weather-skipper I once knew, who took to knitting as a pastime at sea."

1: Burrows--115
116, 462, 562

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Although the number of tasks allotted to men and to women in the table is about the same, most of the time-consuming drudgery falls to the women. Whenever we suggested this to any of the men, they admitted that it was so. Their stock defense against the implication that they were not doing their full share was: 'But we do the dangerous kinds of work. We are the ones who risk our lives at sea, and climb trees to gather coconuts and toddy.' Men also do the kinds of work that require extreme muscular effort, as lifting heavy timbers into place in the superstructure of a house, and extreme endurance, as a long sea-voyage (women take such voyages, but less often). Women certainly have their time more fully taken up with work than men do. And their work, if less risky, is more monotonous. On the whole, they have far the harder time of it.

Nevertheless, the women can hardly be called downtrodden. Though ostensibly subordinate in most matters, their work is not supervised by men. In accordance with the high value placed on kindly speech, they are not ordered about. Within the limits set by tradition, they manage to do as they please a good deal of the time. They make use of their sexual attractiveness to win at least occasional deference. Several times the chief Maroligar came to us, rather sheepishly, to request a can of meat or fish for his ailing wife. Our impression was, not that he was using her as a pretext, but that he was somewhat henpecked."

1: Burrows--115 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461 Ifalik

"Division of labor by age is less systematic and extensive than that by sex. Most of it can be brought under two heads: one, reserving difficult and responsible tasks to those old enough to be trusted with them; the other, relieving those past their physical prime from the more strenuous and dangerous jobs. An example of the first is that only grown women use up much of the scarce banana fiber in weaving; of the second, that elderly men are not expected to climb coconut trees, whether for young drinking nuts or for toddy."

1: Burrows--115 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 283, 565, 461 Ifalik

"Rope-making is work for mature man; just why is not certain. There may be more than one factor involved. For one, the preparation of fiber, which is women's work, is laborious. This limits the supply, and the seniority of the older men may give them first claim to what there is. Another possibility is that this slow, steady work may appeal more to middle-aged men than to the more vigorous, comparatively restless youngsters. Still a third factor may be the ascription of a certain dignity to rope twisting, which makes it a more appropriate occupation for grave and reverend seniors than for upstart youths. Such an association between the manufacture of sennit cordage and high status has been established in Samoa. Tø Rangi Hiroa (Samoan Material Culture, p. 248) calls it 'a chiefly custom' there and adds: 'The status of the occupation was recognized by terming the braiding materials a chief's staff.' (The fact that the technique there is braiding rather than twisting seems irrelevant.) In Ifalik the connection is at most less explicit. If rank is indeed attributed to the occupation, it is the rank of all mature males, whether chiefs or commoners."

1: Burrows--115-116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 565 Ifalik

"Division of labor by rank is minimal. If a chief chose to refrain from manual labor, it is my impression that he would be considered within his rights. But the only chiefs who did so in 1947-8--Wolpetau and Paliuilimar--would have been justified by age even if they had been commoners. Maroligar, not very old but afflicated with some pelvic trouble that made his gait a hobble, and gave him painful days after physical exertion, also refrained from heavy work to some extent. But at light tasks he was the most industrious man of our neighborhood, if not of the whole atoll. He took charge of Katēlū, site of the men's house, the former men's house, a canoe-house and two stone piers; and worked daily at removing brush and rubbish, planting little tufts of sod, and similar park-keeping; even, at the risk of pain, piled coral blocks to repair the [116] seaward end of one of the piers, which had been battered by a typhoon. WolpaitIk, youngest of the chiefs and burly--even fat, a rarity on Ifalik--threw his bulk into whatever hard work was going on. Toromann, though slight and getting along in years, was a skilful adzeman, and almost as industrious as Maroligar. He was one of the steadiest workers on Tom's canoe. He also suggested and carried out, partly with his own hands, several improvements in our camping setup."

"A minimum of individual specialization is one of the most nearly consistent marks of communities we call primitive--that word of so many meanings that they threaten to cancel each other out. In that respect Ifalik is truly primitive. Most of the work can be done by any able-bodied individual of the right sex and age. Only the following activities are reserved to specialists:

1. government, to the chiefs
2. butchering of turtle, to the highest chief of Kovalū clan
3. navigation, to accredited palū
4. carpentry on canoes and public buildings, to accredited sennap
5. tattooing (a complete job only), to taupotu
6. some healing procedures, to tautavē
7. intercession with the gods, to taubwóngbwóng

Even this brief list has to be further qualified. In government, navigation, and carpentry, it is only the planning and direction that are reserved to specialists; others do most of the labor involved. Tattooing is an individual skill; but it is only the application of the complete traditional pattern that is reserved to taupotu. Anyone can put on other scattered motifs, as leaping porpoise along the outside of the legs. Moreover, in Ifalik this was an obsolete specialty during 1947-8. The only living taupotu had long ceased to practice his craft. Men who wanted a complete tattooing--if any still do--would have to seek a taupotu on some other island. This had not been uncommon in the past; Tom, for example, had been tattooed on Woleai. The degree of specialization of healing and religious activity will be discussed in the chapter on religion."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 322, 532, 463 Ifalik

"Some other skills, particularly fine woodwork in small articles like statues and men's combs, are specialties without title or formal training. Tom summed up the situation: 'Some men savvy; all men no savvy.' One such, who made more statues than anyone else, was Wètrlliwok, emaciated by some ailment that prevented his doing heavy work, but deft with his hands. When he wanted specimens of the finer men's combs, skillfully pegged together from little splints of straight-grained ria wood, Tom found a man to make them. He also undertook to have a wooden bowl hewn out for each of us; but, whether because of scarcity of raguēs wood, or decadence of the art in these days of metal pots and pans, or some other reason, the bowls were never forthcoming."

1: Burrows--116 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 565 Ifalik

"Every man, when he is not loafing, is a laboring man as well as a jack of nearly all trades. Chiefs are not exempt from manual labor. For that matter, the one-man specialty of the top-ranking chief, butchering and cooking turtle, is hard, messy work. This chief also brought a stick of wood to several of the meetings which were held daily for a time in order to supply me with song texts; and, during the talk and singing, finished a particularly well made shuttle for a woman's loom. The women are equally versatile. Skill in weaving and plaiting, as well as cooking, is expected of every one of them."

1: Burrows--116-117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 618, 463 Ifalik

"Traditionally, two clans, as noted under 'Social Structure', have special occupations; Bwēl, that of horticulture; Sabwēl, that of running errands [117] and carrying out orders for the chiefs. Whatever practical importance these specialties may have had at some former time, in 1947-8 they were purely nominal. Members of these clans put in their time no differently from anybody else."

1: Burrows--117　　(1947-48)　　Woleaians
116, 226, 466　　Ifalik

"The slow but exciting task of rounding up a school of bonito was similarly marked by periodic outbursts of shouting along the line of canoes. At the climax of the successful attempt, when the line of seines was herding the big fish to the beach, a high proportion of the men on the job were acting as if they were in charge. Particularly noticeable, to an observer on the shore, was GauaisIg, a respected craftsman but too old for strenuous work. He hobbled back and forth along the beach, gesticulating and shouting at the top of his rather feeble voice. Nobody seemed to pay the slightest attention."

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 226, 466 Ifalik

"As to direction of labor, final authority over every job of concern to more than one household rests with the chiefs. All such jobs, like district fishing parties, repairing a canoe-house, or a general clean-up, are undertaken at their order. But it was only during the bonito drives that chiefs were seen to assume active command.

The building of a large sailing canoe requires permission of the chiefs, presumably because it makes such inroads on the available manpower. The course of the work itself is under the direction of an expert shipwright, who may or may not also be a chief. Tom, as a sennap, was nominally in charge of the building of his canoe. But since his time had been allotted by the chiefs to Spiro and me, he delegated supervision of the work on the canoe to his brother, Magaleisei, also a sennap.

An observer who had not been told in advance who was in charge of a job would ordinarily have difficulty in picking him out. The only tasks in which a boss was clearly in evidence, within my observation, were the drawing of lines on what was to be the bottom of a canoe, and the hurried launching that followed the sighting of a school of bonito in the lagoon. The drawing of lines has to be constantly, narrowly supervised. The sighting of a school of bonito is a crucial moment and calls for utmost haste. On the two occasions when we witnessed it, the usually mild Maroligar came hobbling to the canoe-house at the best speed he could make, bawling orders at the top of his voice, his eyes blazing."

1: Burrows--117 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 358, 466 Ifalik

"Maroligar as superintendent of repairs on a canoe-house, was quite a different person. He sat in the shade, rarely speaking, and only by careful watching could it be seen that he kept a closer eye on the proceedings than any of those who were resting between spells of work.

At crucial moments he did indeed give orders; but so did nearly everybody else. When a big timber was being lifted into place, or when some post or lashing seemed about to give way, the almost continual quiet chatter among the men rose to a hubbub. Everybody yelled what might be called either orders or vehement suggestions; few gave heed. Under those conditions, it was a surprise to us foreign observers that the work went along as well as it did. One probable reason for the fairly steady progress, in spite of these recurring crises, was that the procedure was governed, in main outline, by tradition. Except for a beginner or two, everybody had done essentially the same job time and time again. Even the beginners had watched just such jobs from early childhood."

1: Burrows--117-118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 466 Ifalik

"In building a canoe, the sharing of authority was even more evident. [118] It often happened, in the job we had a chance to follow from day to day, that more than one recognized expert was working at a time. One of them, Toromann, was also a chief; but another, Magaleisei, was nominally in charge. Neither distinction could have been guessed from their behavior. There was no jockeying for precedence, as might be expected in our culture unless a rigid order of precedence was observed. Everybody felt free to sight along a line and give his opinion about it. There were frequent pauses for consultation. Nobody seemed to be criticizing anybody else, or defending himself against criticism.

That sort of divided command is obviously inefficient. Yet it has an advantage rarely attained in modern American culture. Every worker gets far more fun out of his work than he could by taking orders from a foreman, who in turn follows a blueprint. In the Ifalik way of working, everybody shares in the joys of feeling himself an executive, whether anybody follows his instructions or not. The morale of the workers is enviably high. Add the custom of dressing up in a strip or two of white young coconut leaf at the beginning of a communal job, and celebrating the end of it with a feast, and it will be plain that Ifalik combines work and play more successfully than has been done in our culture since the days of barn-raisings and husking-bees. Ifalik still extends democracy to economic production, a sphere in which we have sacrificed it to speed, quantity and precision."

1: Burrows--118 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The incentives that put men to work and keep them at it in Ifalik are quite different from the wages and profits on which we rely. A man goes to work there because of some felt obligation. In the long run, he will be repaid by the results of work others do for him. But the connection between his effort and its eventual reward may be remote. In the case of work done for his household it is clear enough. His housemates share the results of his efforts, and he shares the results of theirs. There is nearly as direct a connection when he works with others on some public project, whose benefits all will enjoy. When he helps build a canoe for another man, the kind of reward he may expect is more complicated. He will be partly fed while on the job. That is only part payment. The rest of it is roundabout, and indefinitely postponed. Sooner or later, he will want help, whether for a canoe of his own or to meet some other need. When that time comes, help, including the services of the man for whom he built the canoe or his family, will be forthcoming on the same terms as the labor he provided. In the long run, everybody comes out even. The people of Ifalik seem to understand quite well how the system works. A few examples will help make it clear to one accustomed to our economic system."

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik 1-3

"In the making of Tom's canoe, the obligations that brought men to the work were of three kinds: (1) kinship; (2) neighborliness; (3) friendship. On the big days, when many hands were needed, all the neighbors rallied round. Most of the workmen seemed to be from Falārik, where Tom lived and where the work was going on; but there were some from Fauau, and Tom said proudly that some men, not relatives of his, came all the way from Falālap just out of friendship.

Sociability might be added as an additional motive with all hands. On those particular days, that job and the assemblage it brought together probably afforded the best entertainment to be found on the island. And on some of these days there was still another inducement, sometimes held out in our culture in the one word 'refreshments' on notices or invitations. Women of Tom's two households cooked and brought food for the workers.

For the long pull--the many days when only a few workers stayed on the job--the obligation that brought most of them was kinship. The steadiest workers were: (1) Magaleisei, Tom's brother, to whom he had delegated supervision of the work while he was on duty with the visiting anthropologists; (2) the chief Toromann, whose wife is Tom's sister (my records do not make clear whether she is [119] what we would call a sister, or whether Tom used the word in an extended sense, in which case she is what we would call a cousin); (3) Aueligar, Toromann's son, whom Tom would call vatuwei (my sister's son); (4) Siuman, another sister's son; (5) Auilimar, husband of one of

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik

Tom's sisters; (6) Tom's two grown sons, one his own, the other adopted. The elder, his own son, was rather sulky and uncooperative toward him. (Analysis of this strained father-son relationship falls in Spiro's field.)

Three of these man [sic]--Magaleisei, Toromann, Auilimar--were considered master-shipwrights. Aueligar, an intelligent and energetic young man, is probably on hiw way to that distinction. In that case, beside meeting his obligation toward his mother's brother, the job would count toward finishing his apprenticeship.

The motivation in this case was not always strong enough to keep a crew of men on the job; perhaps because of the unusual circumstance that Tom himself was absent so much of the time, working for us, and hence could not inspire the other workers with his own enthusiasm. On October 2, he asked the chiefs to issue an order for more men to work on his canoe. The word spread rapidly, and within about an hour a number of men appeared, and got on with the job of fitting and fastening the planks of the hull. But on October 5 there was a public task--replacing the corner post in a canoe house--that took all available manpower. On the day after that, only Toromann and two other elderly men were at work on the canoe.

October 15 Tom announced angrily to the chiefs that he was not going to work for us on the following day. He was going to work on his canoe. Nobody had been at work on it for several days, he said; and if he spent all his time working for us, it never would be finished. This episode will be considered in detail in the chapter on government.

1: Burrows--118-119 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 396, 461, 602, 476 Ifalik

Here it is enough to say that thereafter work on the canoe went more steadily."

1: Burrows--119-120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik 1-2

"Some test of how typical the building of Tom's canoe may be is afforded by a lesser job of the same kind that was carried out in January, 1948--the re-lashing of a canoe belonging to Gabwileisei of Rauau district. Gabwileisei, not a sennap himself, called on GauaisIg of Falālap to supervise the job. The two are kinsmen, Tom said. I do not know what the relationship is, beyond the fact that they are not of the same clan, Gabwileisei's clan being Sauwĕl, GauaisIg's Kovalū.

On the first day a considerable number of men assembled. GauauisIg brought some with him from Falālap. Most of the men of the neighborhood also appeared. Their obligation, Tom explained, was that whenever that canoe brought in a good catch of fish, they would receive a share of it. Altogether, on that day, there were more men than there was room for about the canoe, so they spelled each other. Husked young drinking nuts were distributed.

Though the job took only about a week, the attendance quickly fell off. Again the faithful few were kinsmen: (1) Arigomar, a sister's son of Gabwileisei; (2) Saralimwan, another sister's son; (3) Magaleisei, whose wife is the daughter of a sister, so that he lives on Gabwileisei's ancestral homestead; and (4) Metagesou, another affinal relative --his wife is related to Gabwileisei, [120] Tom was not sure just how. Old GauaisIg, having got the job organized and under way, did not bother to attend every day.

The pattern seems to be about the same as Tom's canoe. Again neighborliness exerted a perceptible pull, but only kinship kept on pulling men to the job for its whole

1: Burrows--119-120 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 396, 476, 602 Ifalik

duration. Among kinsfolk, sister's son ('true' or classificatory) were again prominent, showing that the avunculate gives a man a stronger claim on the services of his sisters' sons than on other relatives."

1: Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Rethatching or repairing a canoe-house is a district job. All the men of the district, whether the particular canoe-house is their neighborhood club or not, are expected to take part. The women help, too; plaiting some of the thatch-sheets for a thatching job, and cooking food for the modest feast which is the proper conclusion for any public task. Sometimes this feast is served several days after the work itself, in which case another job for the men of the district--a district fishing expedition--may help provide food for it. In these district undertakings the claim of kinship is still perceptible, but is now subordinate to that of locality. Some men who were brought up in the district concerned, but have moved away by marriage to another district, will come back on these occasions to the old neighborhood to help with the work and share in the festivities. Men's dances (ūr) are also district undertakings. Particular dances are the specialty of particular districts. For these, too, men who have married out of a district will commonly return, and rehearse and perform for the district in which they grew up."

1: Burrows--120 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 286 Ifalik

"A few public works concern the whole atoll. In these, kinship ties become irrelevant. Most conspicuous are the drives to round up a school of bonito in the lagoon. Everybody turns out, and everybody shares in the catch when there is one.

Another, but related, task of this kind was undertaken in October, 1947. One or more of the big seines kept in the canoe-house on Falālap had rotted beyond repair. This was a matter for the attention of the chiefs, as the nominal owners of these seines. They ordered the manufacture of a new seine for Falālap.

For some days thereafter men could be seen busy on sections of seine, not only in the canoe-house on Falālap but in the others, all the way to northernmost FalārIk. Now this seine was to be kept in Falālap, and used more often than not for district expeditions from which only the people of Falālap would benefit. Why should the men of other districts be called upon to help make it? In answer to this question, Tom replied that, in case of a bonito drive, the whole island takes part, and shares the benefit. So the making of these seines, which calls for a large expenditure of material and labor, is considered the task of the whole atoll. Like all such tasks, it involved reciprocal obligations. When it is FalārIk's turn to get a new seine, Falālap men will help. Incidentally, this undertaking required individual contributions, not only of labor, but of material, sennit cord, much of which had been made individually before this particular use of it was foreseen. Such cordage, we have noted, is regarded as individual property, though with the element of trusteeship involved in all individual ownership on Ifalik."

1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falărlk, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

1: Burrows--121 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 476, 621 Ifalik

"Different kinds of fishing are carried on by groups of all sizes, and afford a review of all the forms of cooperation exemplified by other tasks. To begin with the smallest, a man may go fishing alone to feed his household or meet some special obligation, such as that involved in adopting a child. All the men of a household may unite for similar purposes. These small fishing parties are united both by kinship and coresidence.

Larger parties, overstepping kinship lines but still united, as a rule, by residence in the same neighborhood or district, are required to man some kinds of fishing apparatus --*rop* drag, seine, large trap (which is taken out to sea in a sailing canoe, and so calls for a full crew). Fishing with tackle of these kinds is most often a district enterprise. In the case of *rop* drag or seine, all the men of the district, except for the infirm or a few who may have other urgent tasks, are expected to turn out. It does not take so many to man a canoe, and expeditions with the big traps, while usually district undertakings too, are generally manned by crews who are age-mates as well as neighbors--the groups of young men who gather in the different canoe-houses. Finally must be mentioned once more the bonito drive, which calls out the largest possible group, the entire able-bodied population."

l: Burrows--121-123 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 673, 476 Ifalik 1.4

"Some idea of the nature and frequency of public works--tasks involving groups larger than a household--is given by the following list of journal entries, which is approximately complete only for the district of Rauau. One job, the building of Tom's canoe in Falārīk district, was going on nearly every day from the beginning until well on in January, though only the crucial days of work are noted.

Aug. 1. -Bonito in lagoon. Entire population busy all day. (The fish escaped from the seines during the night.)
Aug. 9. -Bonito in lagoon again. Entire population busy all day. School captured toward sundown.
Aug. 10-12. -All work tabu except smoking of bonito.
Sept. 5-12 (approximately). -Clean-up of island, ordered by chiefs at general meeting Sept. 4, after visit of American ship.
Sept. 20. -Fishing for feast held at conclusion of religious ceremony.
Sept. 27. -Planks of Tom's canoe glued and permanently lashed.
Sept. 28. -New thatch plaited for canoe-house Fan ni wā, in Falārīk district.
Sept. 30. -New thatch put on roof of Fan ni wā. [122]
Oct. 3. -Chiefs order men out to work on Tom's canoe.
Oct. 5. -Corner post replaced in canoe-house Fale Pĕngā, Rauau district.
Oct. 6. -District fishing (For feast at conclusion of canoe-house job? Not noted.)
Oct. 11. -District fishing.

1: Burrows--121-123 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 673, 476 Ifalik

Oct. 13-18. -Young men go out in canoes every morning with large traps.

Oct. 19. -Fishing by united forces of Rauau and FalārIk.

Oct. 21. -Post replaced on canoe-house Pa'urĕl. Done by some men, but not all from both Rauau and Falālap.

Oct. 22. -Falālap district fishing for feast to celebrate conclusion of canoe-house job. Feast held late in the day.

Oct. 24. -(and thereafter nearly every night until Nov. 15 at three canoe-houses; one in FalārIk, one in Rauau, and one in Falālap). Men rehearse at night for performance of *ur* dance, ordered by chiefs at request of anthropologist.

Oct. 25 (approximately, and daily thereafter). -Men at work in all canoe-houses making new seine for Falālap.

Oct. 31. -Feast at Falālap for conclusion of seine-making; which, however, continued thereafter for several days.

Nov. 5. -New thatch sheets plaited for canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district.

Nov. 6. -Rauau district fishing.

Nov. 7. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Sabwōlap.

Nov. 10. -Thatch put on roof of canoe-house Pa'ugop in FalārIk.

Nov. 14. -No work except preparing feast to conclude final performance of *ur* dance.

1: Burrows--121-123 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 673, 476 Ifalik

Nov. 15. -Men of all districts take part in final performance of *ur*.

Nov. 16 (and on into December). -Young men out in canoes nearly every morning with big fish-traps.

Nov. 25. -Thatch sheets plaited for men's house. (Thatch put on several days later-exact date not noted.)

Dec. 3. -Over-water 'head' or latrine built for anthropologists.

Dec. 6. -Young men of Rauau went trolling over distant reef Vasulós.

Dec. 9-11. -Stringer replaced on canoe-house Sabwōlap, Rauau district. [123]

Dec. 12. -Boys of Rauau fishing for feast on completion of canoe-house job. Feast held late that day.

Dec. 13. -Canoes out with traps in the morning, several parties with torches scoured reef at night.

Dec. 24. -Extra-tie beam and king-post installed in canoe-house Sabwōlap, recently repaired.

Dec. 28. -Outrigger fitted on Tom's canoe.

Dec. 31. -Canoe sail repaired by small group in front of one of the Rauau canoe-houses.

Jan. 2. -District fishing by young men (Rauau) for feast to conclude four days of prayer for a sick woman.

Jan. 6. -Trial run of Tom's new canoe, completed except for finishing touches and painting.

Jan. 7-14 (approximately). -Re-lashing of Gabwileisei's canoe.
Jan. 24. -District fishing, Rauau.
Jan. 26. -District fishing, Rauau.
Feb. 2-3. -Torchlight fishing on reef by young men.

To sum up: work is undertaken and working groups formed, to meet some felt obligation. The smaller groups unite to meet the needs of kinsfolk and neighbors, with kinship the strongest bond. Larger groups are formed mainly on the basis of common residence. The district or, in the case of Falālap, the island, are the units of most frequent cooperation on this larger scale. A few tasks call for cooperation of the whole population. Women cooperate according to the same pattern as men. In the larger groups, they usually play a supporting role."

1: Burrows--123 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 461, 476 Ifalik

"The immediate rewards of group labor are ordinarily confined to sharing in the sociability of the gathering and in food distributed during the course of the work or at its close; sometimes, also, in the products of the work-- a catch of fish or a canoe-house which all the men may use. Other payment comes in roundabout ways and may be indefinitely delayed. That is, a stint of work does not entitle the worker to a specified return from a specified employer, as with us; but does give him a claim to equivalent services, whenever he needs them, from whoever is available to help. There seems to be no thought of one individual profiting more than another, or at another's expense."

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 105 Ifalik 1-3

"The framework within which goods and services are distributed has been partly stated, partly implied, in the foregoing discussion. A summary of the main points follows:

Each individual shares in the use of the homestead and arable land of [124] his maternal lineage. This involves a claim, not only to shelter, but also to food from cultivated plants and domestic animals.

Claims of this kind are lifelong and inalienable. What we call real property changes hands only as individual claims are initiated by birth or adoption, or extinguished by death.

A man acquires an additional claim by marriage, when he joins the household of his wife. Thereafter he lives mainly on the produce of her land, but without losing his right to draw on his own heritage. In cases of residence other than matrilocal, all who take up residence on some homestead other than their maternal one assume similar claims to the new homestead and whatever property goes with it.

Collected food--fish (except yellow-fin tuna), other sea-food (except turtle), land crabs, terns--is shared among the households of those who get it, or distributed farther if there is a surplus. For example, fish caught by a district expedition are distributed among all households of the district. If any are left over, they go to other districts. The exceptions, delicacies reserved for the clans of highest rank, are also distributed beyond these clans as far as the supply will go.

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 476, 105 Ifalik

Each individual is obliged to contribute services, according to sex, age, and physical condition, by taking part in the work of his household and in communal tasks carried out by his neighborhood, district, island, or by the whole population of the atoll.

Specialization, beyond the general division of labor by sex and age, is confined to a few occupations: government, navigation, supervision of carpentry on canoes and public buildings, tattooing, some forms of healing, and some religious activities.

This economic system provides, indeed imposes, approximate equality of wealth. Some lineages, to be sure, have more arable land than others. But none is landless. And none can benefit from more land than its members can cultivate, nor as a rule--since there is no market for staple products-- dispose of more than they can consume. Further distribution on special occasions which constitute exceptions to this rule, will be discussed later.

This situation offers very little opportunity or incentive for a prestige economy. Not only can no individual or group acquire much more property than others; there would be no advantage in doing so. Honor and status are not equated with possession or expenditure of material goods, except in a few cases, as canoe ownership and display at funerals.

Control of labor is almost as equalitarian as ownership of property. The chiefs, and, within the household, the senior individuals, can command to some extent the services of others. But tradition channels, and in effect limits, the purposes to which labor is

1: Burrows--123-124 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 476, 105 Ifalik

applied. It is used only for the common welfare, never to enrich one individual or group at the expense of others."

1: Burrows--124-125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 476, 592 Ifalik

"This economic system entails a constant interchange of services, but tends to minimize exchange of goods. Production is for subsistence almost [125] exclusively; only rarely for trade. There is, to be sure, some routine exchange within the household, determined by the customary division of labor. Men--young men especially--provide coconuts, toddy, breadfruit, fish, timber, cordage. Women provide taro, cooked food, mats, the better baskets, woven cloth, fiber for cordage. Since the goods involved are owned jointly, it is services that are exchanged in this daily housekeeping.

Exchange beyond the household also involves services more often than material goods, as has been brought out in the discussion of labor. In addition to the obligation of return services imposed by a contribution of labor, the food served to a working party on the completion of a task, and at intervals during the course of longer jobs, is part payment."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 463, 173, 304, 152 Ifalik

"Additional payment to the experts in charge of a job consists mostly of the prestige that goes with authority. A rare instance of a more acquisitive attitude, involving insistence upon material payment, is the conclusion of the myth which tells of the divine origin of tattooing. After the god Wolfat had first taught a few men how to apply the designs, many applied to have their skins decorated. 'But Wolfat told them to put the designs only on those who gave them many fine presents,--cloths, rope, coconut trees, and whatever else they might desire.' Since the sole surviving master-tattooer of Ifalik, who told the tale, had long retired from practise, I could not suspect him individually of adding this as a profitable postscript. Presumably the conclusion was as traditional as the rest of the story. But it does seem to require avarice, which is unusual in Ifalik, of the practitioners of this craft."

1: Burrows--125
116, 431, 764

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifalik, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromānn during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromānn decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is, gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes."

1: Burrows--125-126
116, 768, 158

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Destruction of property is a traditional outlet for extreme grief or rage, --witness the wrecking of houses by Galēt in the myth (p. 54), when he was made to feel what a loss he had suffered in the abduction of his wife. Such destruction may appear as an extreme form of mourning. The only instance during our stay was the act of a young man of Falālap after his mother's death. He burned their house. He had been particularly attached to her. In addition, he was deeply and frequently disturbed by more or less violent outbursts on the part [126] of his father, who was the most troublesome of the island's psychotics, and had kept the mother in a state of terror toward the end of her life. It seems safe to say that the relief which this act may have afforded was its only reward. It is economic only as an exceptional form of consumption of property."

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 796, 828, 152 Ifalik 1-2

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing Wolpaitlk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

1: Burrows--126
116, 431, 796, 828, 152

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 585, 431 Ifalik

"Absence of any exchange or distribution of gifts on the occasion of a marriage is part of one of the most conspicuous gaps in the culture of Ifalik,--the lack of any rite of passage to solemnize this occasion. One way of saying it is that, while there are marriages in Ifalik, there are no weddings."

1: Burrows--126
116, 431, 597

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Adoption, we have seen, does involve gifts of food from the parents who receive the child to those who give it. Tom's way of telling it made it a more individual affair, --an obligation of the adopting father to the biological mother, just after the birth of a child already bespoken for adoption. Characteristically, this is not thought of as payment for the child, but only as a contribution to the mother, so that she may have plenty of milk to make the child grow and thrive. The gift of a child, like any gift in Ifalik, does confer an obligation; but not one that can be liquidated by payment of a specified price. These obligations are more like the social obligations than the economic ones of our culture. No one transaction can be final. Each is a step in a relationship that is expected to continue, and one of the principal motives involved is the maintenance of good will."

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

1: Burrows--127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 439 Ifalik

"Trade with Europe did not begin until comparatively recent times. Although Spaniards were established on Guam, only 350 miles away, from 1668, no European ship seems to have visited Ifalik until Wilson called in 1797. Trade with Europeans was negligible throughout the following century. When the German expedition arrived in 1909, the people still had only shell adzes. During the few remaining years of the German regime a beginning was made of buying copra in exchange for foreign trade goods. This was developed by the Japanese. For years now all cutlery has been of steel, and some other foreign wares, such as cloth, dyes, and cotton fishing nets and lines, have become fairly common, though only the dyes have displaced the native product. Up to the early months of 1948, American vessels had not begun calling regularly, and the people had not been able to resume making copra, as they never knew when the arrival of a ship would enable them to sell it. The prospect was that American transportation would eventually become organized so that ships would call more regularly, and trade would again reach the level attained by the Japanese. There was no visible prospect of its developing much beyond that, -the islanders have so little to export."

1: Burrows--127-128 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 438 Ifalik

"Purely native trade with other islands has been going on for an indefinite period, - presumably ever since the islands were first settled. With its nearest neighbor, Woleai, Ifalik has little opportunity for trade, since the resources and products of the two atolls are nearly the same. What trading there is follows the native pattern of gift exchange. We witnessed one example. Woleai was short of breadfruit at the time, because virtually all trees had been destroyed on the largest island of the atoll. This destruction was begun by the Japanese in clearing for a landing strip, and finished by the Americans in bombing it. A canoe that set sail for Woleai during the breadfruit season took all of the fruit it could carry; in fact, several loads taken out in small canoes had to be returned for lack of storage space aboard the sailing canoe. Some of the breadfruit may have been earmarked for relatives or particular friends, but [128] most of it was to be distributed as the Woleai chiefs saw fit. Nothing was said about payment, or any return present. Woleai, in accepting the gift, assumed an obligation and will make a return when possible. But it is hard to see what it will be, unless Ifalik, and not Woleai, should be devastated by a typhoon. What Woleai has that Ifalik has not is mainly fish; and native methods of preservation would not get it to Ifalik in good condition. (The people do not make salt, and their smoking of fish, to be effective, has to be almost continuous.) One meager present of preserved fish was indeed brought in one of the canoes from Woleai. It was apparently a surplus from the supply taken on for the voyage; at least there was only enough for the chiefs. I did not get a close look at

1: Burrows--127-128 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
No, 438 Ifalik

it to see whether it was preserved in any other way than the usual smoking. Tom kept us away; rather officiously, it seemed, yet his explanation was doubtless true. We would not like it, he said, 'because stink'."

1: Burrows--128
116, 321, 439

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"A regular article of import from Eaurupik is turtle-shell discs or beads for women's belts. Curiously, the German account of Eaurupik--written like that of Ifalik, by Damm from field notes by Sarfert--speaks of a belt of coconut-shell beads as characteristic of Eaurupik, and traded as far as Puluwat. But my Ifalik informants insisted that all their dark beads were of turtle shell, and that most of them came from Eaurupik. As usual, no mention was made of payment, or of return present. Swamp taro (pulax), of which Ifalik has an abundance, is one possibility; but this grows on Eaurupik too."

1: Burrows--128 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 276, 439 Ifalik

"Native tobacco is imported from several of the nearest atolls, which seem able to grow more of it than Ifalik, though the soil can not be very hospitable on any of them. Faraulep and (this from memory) Lamotrek were mentioned as sources of tobacco."

1: Burrows--128
116, 302, 386, 439

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"One highly prized article--'red' turmeric root, rubbed on the body as adornment or medicine--came from the more distant high islands; either Truk, 400 miles to the east, or Yap, about the same distance to the west. The turmeric plant grows on Ifalik, and is one of the plants most highly prized for its fragrance--the angorIk. But it is the leaves that are used. The locally grown roots are apparently too small to be worth putting through the elaborate process of grating, straining, decanting, and baking by which the orange or flame-colored powder called rang was prepared. At any rate this process is not part of the technology of Ifalik. Tom always translated rang as either 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'."

1: Burrows--128-129 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 502, 439 Ifalik

"It has been noted in the account of native navigation that canoes from Ifalik sometimes went as far as Truk to the eastward, or even farther. Whether these long trips accounted for most of the supply of rang [KS: powdered turmeric root used for body painting] from that direction, or whether most of it came by trading along the chain of low islands in between, is not clear. But certainly some of the supply from Yap was brought directly, in the course of the regular visits to the village of Gatschapar (Ifalik Garpar) in Gagil district, whose chiefs are regarded as overlords of Ifalik. The political aspect of these voyages will be considered in the chapter on government. As to the economic aspect, Fonachar of Yap told me that the people from outer atolls like Ifalik would bring cloths, mat sails and other pandanus mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy' (what he meant by 'candy' I could not make out). Yap gave in return, he said, rang, canoes of the larger and better timber available on the high islands, mats of Yap manufacture, betel nuts (but betel chewing is not customary on Ifalik), and foods not obtainable on the atolls, such as Tahitian chestnut. Since foreign vessels from the high islands have been making fairly frequent trips to Ifalik, most of the turmeric has been brought on them, though [129] the trade in it seems still to be in the hands of native sailors or passengers."

1: Burrows--129 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 436, 177 Ifalik

"It is noteworthy that the people of Ifalik do not make or use--and so far as I could learn, never did--any of the kinds of native currency which reached a remarkable development on Yap and Palau. To be sure, the material for the kinds most valued on Yap--huge limestone disks and dugong ivory--would have had to be imported to Ifalik; and the stone is too bulky to transport on canoes without great difficulty, while the dugong ivory is said to be extremely scarce even on Yap. (One necklace of what seemed to be this material was seen on Ifalik--about the neck of the chief WolpaitIk.) But there would be no such obstacle to the acquisition of shell currency, either by trading or by local manufacture. The absence of anything of the kind in the economic system of Ifalik illustrates the limited and selective character of cultural borrowing by Ifalik (and presumably by neighboring atolls of similar culture) from the more populous high islands. In this case the failure to adopt native currency may well have been influenced by the absence of selling and barter--indeed, the weakness of any concept of payment for a gift--in the local economy."

1: Burrows--130 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 475, 626 Ifalik

"Government on Ifalik, as described in this chapter, is limited to administration of certain rules regulating conduct. Another activity which might well be allotted to government is public works. But since the services performed are economic, and some of them involve distinctive techniques, it has been convenient to describe this activity under economics and technology, except for the matter of enforcing participation in communal undertakings, which will be discussed in this chapter. Various other activities performed in our culture by governmental agencies are either absent in Ifalik or seem to be outside the sphere of government as here understood.

Not all rules are regarded as governmental. Following Malinowski*, the distinction drawn here is based on the sanctions by which they are enforced. Rules not taken seriously enough to be sanctioned at all, or sanctioned only in informal ways, as by the inertia of custom, the negative sanctions of gossip and ridicule, or the positive sanction of practical efficacy, are not the concern of government. And sanctions that we regard as supernatural, whether thought of as automatic, or as administered by superhuman beings, are allotted to religion."

"* Malinowski's views on government were first formulated in 'Crime and Custom in Savage Society,' redefined later in the preface to Hogbin, 'Law and Order in Polynesia.'"

1: Burrows--130 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik

"In Ifalik, matters of public concern, except for most of the religious ones, are administered by five chiefs, who hold office by virtue of hereditary rank."

1: Burrows--130-131 (1947-48) Woleaians/.3
116, 621 Ifalik

"....government in Ifalik might be defined as interaction between chiefs and populace, and between chiefs and foreigners. It is unmistakably institutionalized, in any sense of the protean word 'institution'. If we apply Malinowski's concept of an institution, government in Ifalik can be outlined as follows:

Group: Chiefs as the governors, populace as the governed.

Activity: Regulation of conduct in accordance with traditional rules; formulation of new rules when necessary.

Shared Environment: The atoll of Ifalik, including its reef and lagoon, and extending to the open sea as far as it is frequented by Ifalik canoes on short round-trip expeditions. (Interisland voyages take the canoes out of the jurisdiction of this institution.)

Material Equipment: The kind of property called 'property of the chiefs', and analyzed in the chapter on economics as public property: that is, the men's house, the path along the lagoon shore of FalārIk and the belt line about the taro swamp on Falālap, especially the northwestern part of it, which constitutes the main thoroughfare among the houses; the big seines kept in the canoe-houses; to a great extent the canoe-houses themselves and the large sailing canoes, though these are nominally private property; in emergency, any other property.

Charter: (1) The legends insofar as they confer the authority of ancient standing on the principle of rank, including subordination of Ifalik to Gatschapar in Yap, superordination of Ifalik over surrounding atolls; most specifically, the passages which trace the paramount title, and its succession in Kovalū clan, to the [131] prowess of Mailias as a warrior, and the second-ranking title, with its succession in Sauvelārlk clan, to the feats of Maur as a leader and orator; less explicitly, the traditional association of these mighty men of old with the abandoned site of the ancient men's house just inland from the present one.

(2) Symbols of rank in material objects and deferential behavior. These cluster around the men's house, as described later.

(3) All traditional rules of conduct insofar as it is regarded as the business of the chiefs to administer them. (It is hard to draw a clear line between these rules and rules of two other kinds: on the one hand, those administered within the household or informally by public opinion; on the other hand, those administered by gods or--in the case of tabus--by impersonal supernatural power. An

1: Burrows--130-131 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 621 Ifalik

attempt to draw this line will be made later. The belief that the spirits of ancient chiefs avenge any violation of the tabu on the site of the ancient men's house is a case in which governmental and religious rules, as those categories are here defined, merge into one.

(4) The traditional, unverbalized 'constitution' - which places every individual in a hierarchy of hereditary rank, and confers authority on the holders of five chiefly titles, each of which descends nominally in a particular clan (actually, so far as observed, in the senior lineage of that clan). This constitution specifies--by precedent, as in the British constitution and the common law--the duties and prerogatives of the chiefs, some division of authority among them, and the obligations of the commoners."

"The following table shows the order of rank among the chiefs, the clans in which they descend, and the names of the individuals holding these titles during our stay on the atoll in 1947-8. The official titles of the chiefs, except for those in SauvelārIk clan, are the same as the names of their clans. Apparently the names of these particular clans, as discussed on p. 89-90, originated as titles. I never heard titles for the two chieftainships in SauvelārIk clan, and the name of that clan is not, like the others, a title. Indeed, the other titles are now used only as clan names. Although it is said to be proper to address the paramount chief as 'Kovalū', the third as 'Mangaulevār', and the fifth as 'Rapevalū', I never heard this done. There is no way to test the suggestion that this was customary at some former time, unless this custom proved to be general among surrounding islands of related culture, which would of course support the suggestion. Whatever may have been the former custom, nowadays the use of these titles in address is obsolete, so far as our observation goes.

Order of Rank	Clan	Title	Holder in 1947-8
1.	Kovalū	Kovalū	Wolpetau
2.	SauvelārIk	?	Maroligar
3.	Mangaulevār	Mangaulevār	Paliuilimar (died 1948)
4.	SauvelārIk	?	WolpaitIk
5.	Rapevelū	Rapevelū	Toromann

1: Burrows--131-132 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 622 Ifalik

[132] In addition, Fagaurateu of Sauwĕl was credited with a unique status as a sort of sub-chief. Tom said this position was called by the same name (tamōl) as that of the five full-fledged chiefs. Yet Fagarateu did not meet with them, nor sit with them on public occasions. His position seems to exemplify the traditional role ascribed to Sauwĕl men--to act as errand-runners and subordinate executives for the chiefs. This was the only trace found of this role in current practise; and even this was only nominal, so far as observed. Being old and in poor health, Fagaurateu seemed not to exercise any of the authority accredited to him."

1: Burrows--132 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565 Ifalik

"Rank is so highly valued and respected that it stands out as one of the master-values of this culture. A hierarchy of rank runs through the whole society. In it each individual has a place; and standards of good behavior require each to show by his conduct that he 'knows his place'. This involves not only deference toward superiors, but a certain lordliness toward inferiors, --not in informal contacts, but on occasions of state. For example, when the highest-ranking chief of Faraulep was visiting Ifalik, and came to the canoe-house where the local chiefs met, Wolpetau remained lying on his back and paid his visitor only a negligent attention; this although he is personally an affable man, rather diffident in manner. The point was that traditionally he outranks the Faraulep chief, and was in duty bound to mark the distinction by his conduct.

It has already been shown (pp. 90, 131) that the chiefs are aligned in a definite order of rank; that the clans which hold chiefly titles have an order of rank corresponding to that of their chiefs; and that clans which have no chiefs rank below those which have."

1: Burrows--132 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 613 Ifalik

"Within the clans, lineages rank according to traditional seniority. Even within lineages--or, what comes to nearly the same thing, households--there is a similar order among individuals. Insofar as the division of labor segregates men and women into separate groups, this small-scale hierarchy splits into two, one of men and one of women. It is unobtrusive, and may be weakened, perhaps even reversed occasionally, by individual differences. Yet it operates more continuously than the large-scale, comparatively formal hierarchy of chiefs and clans, because the individuals involved are interacting most of the time."

1: Burrows--132-133 (1947-48) Wolcaians/-2
116, 565 Ifalik

"Rank, then, is a graded continuum. The sharpest line of cleavage is between chiefs and commoners; and this is in effect a part-time distinction, perceptible only on formal occasions. Ordinarily it would be hard to tell, from the behavior of a group of men, which among them were chiefs. All work and talk together like equals. The chiefs are treated courteously, to be sure, but so is everybody else; for courtesy is another of the master-values. The distinction in rank only becomes apparent in moments of formality. For instance, as already noted, communal tasks of any importance are made the occasion for communal meals,--not to use the word 'feast' for anything so unpretentious. Such meals always begin with the offering of a little food to the gods, with a brief spoken prayer, like the "grace before meals' customary--or formerly customary--in our culture. When there is a chief present, as there usually is, he is the one to make this offering; or if there is more than one chief, the senior one. That bit of ritual over, he again becomes indistinguishable from the rest. Although chieftainship is hereditary, the chiefs, elevated only by such part-time distinctions, can not be said to constitute a social class, as that term is ordinarily understood. Still less can they and their kinsfolk, whether households or clans, be said to constitute a [133] nobility. For what distinction there is is nearly all individual. The order of rank among clans is manifested only through their chiefs, except when a title is vacated by death and a successor has to be chosen, or--in the case of the two highest-ranking clans--on one rather infrequent occasion: when a turtle is appropriated by Kovalū, or a yellowfin tuna by Sauvelārlk.

1: Burrows--132-133 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 565 Ifalik

In sum, for all the importance of rank in this society, the society is not stratified into classes.

The importance of courtesy, evident in all social behavior, is conspicuous in the treatment of distinctions in rank. When the occasion requires, the distinctions are made and accepted, but unostentatiously. They are not allowed to become invidious. So, while rank serves to enhance the authority of superiors, it is rather successfully prevented from humiliating inferiors, at least overtly. The emphasis--unless in malicious gossip, which would have to be furtive to be tolerated--is on the positive importance of rank, rather than the negative importance of lack of it. Even in the case of chiefs homage is paid to the office rather than the man."

1: Burrows--133 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565 Ifalik

"This fact is evident in the nature of the symbols of rank. They do not consist of emblems or insignia attached to the person and carried about. The reservation of turtle to Kovalū clan and yellowfin tuna to Sauvelārlk, in addition to the practical advantage of use of these delicacies, symbolizes the superior rank of these two clans. This is the symbol that comes nearest to being invidious. Tom, a Sauvelārlk man, fretted under the restriction on turtle. The requirement that the paramount chief butcher turtle in person is an individual distinction. Except for that, the symbolism of this custom distinguishes clans rather than individuals.

Only one other individual distinction was noted, --a bit of symbolic behavior. Once every rag, or twice a year, men from Falārlk district make a ceremonial offering of coconut toddy to the No. 2 chief, the senior man of Sauvelārlk. We saw it once, on November 10. About mid-morning, a file of men came along the path, each carrying a bottle of fresh toddy. Maroligar awaited them on the homestead Somat, between Katēlū and Bwagolei. He does not live there, but now that Bwagolei is uninhabited Somat is the highest-ranking Sauvelārlk homestead, hence the most appropriate site for this little ceremony. There was no elaborate speech-making. The men greeted the chief quietly, put down the bottles of toddy, and squatted on the coral house platform facing him. He saved out some for his relatives, and one bottle for the Americans, but redistributed the rest at once, and he and his callers drank it together."

1: Burrows--133-134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"Far the most conspicuous and important symbol of rank on the atoll is the tract of land called Katēlū, in Rauau district. There are two buildings on it, and a coral platform, now overgrown, where another building stood in ancient times. The two now standing are a canoe-house (generic name *Fan ni Wā*) and what speakers of English call the men's house, because unmarried men formerly slept there. The native generic name for it is *Fan Nap* or big house. Both canoe-house and men's house are sometimes called Katēlū, the same as the whole site.

The canoe-house seems to be only slightly more respected than other canoe-houses. In its use for storage of canoes it does not differ from them at all. As a men's clubhouse, it is used more by the chiefs than by anyone else, but is not forbidden to commoners. It was the regular meeting-place of chiefs during our [134] stay. Whether they would have used the men's house if our tent had not been pitched close beside it, I could not be sure."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565 Ifalik

"The men's house is far more significant than the canoe-house as an emblem of rank. It is rarely occupied nowadays except when the chiefs summon all the people to gather in and around it for a public meeting. Occasionally a few men-usually chiefs, or at least with a chief among them--gather there to consult together. At least once during our stay a few people, including both men and women, met there to talk with the chief Maroligar. I think, but am not certain, that he performed for them a kind of divination reserved to him, the apparatus of which is stored in this building (p. 189-190). Once a group of women, in response to the chiefs' request or order that a pandanus mat be plaited for Spiro, met in the men's house for part of the work."

1: Burrows--134 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 345, 565, 532 Ifalik

"The symbolism of rank which invests this building [KS: the men's house] as a whole is reinforced by several of its details. One is that the four corner-posts, unlike those of any other building on the atoll, are not of wood but of the compact beach sandstone called *perou.* The significance of this is indicated by the fact that one of the men's religious dances is called *sur perou* (stone corner-post), as if to say 'This is the firm, durable support on which the whole structure rests.' Another is the foremost or seaward one of the row of posts set in the ground which support the ridge-pole directly, another unique feature of this building (p. 48). This front post is called *O̍ngarIk*. This word, too, is used as the name of one of the men's religious dances.

The *O̍ngarIk,* unlike the rest of the row of posts, is hewn square and covered from top to bottom with decorations. A detailed discussion of these belongs with the study of native arts. Most of them seem to have no specific symbolism, only the general purpose of adorning and so dignifying the post. But the most conspicuous one refers to the legend of the massacre of the ancient population of Woleai and the repopulation of the atoll from Ifalik, most important of several such legends which, as will be pointed out (p. 162-3), express the sentiment of rank by exalting Ifalik above the other atolls round about. This symbol is a large phallus, rather realistically carved but painted white. The penis, about 18 inches long, points toward Woleai. It is said to represent the penis of Maur, which pointed toward Woleai in the legend (p. 154)."

1: Burrows--134-135 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 565 Ifalik /-

"Two other bits of decoration on this post [KS: front post in men's house], in which the specific symbolism is of foreign origin, require mention because of an incident that illustrates both how the people feel about rank and--a related matter--how they feel about the United States.

At the top of the post, when we arrived, was a Japanese flag, painted in black. From the first we thought we would eventually suggest changing this; but decided to let any suggestion of change wait until the people knew us better, and understood that suggestions of change were not what we were there for. (If any such idea of our mission had become current among them, it might have led them to conceal from us whatever of their culture they valued so highly that they did not want it changed.)

Below the flag were some Japanese characters. An American ship, on its next call, brought Cmdr. Kinney, then head of naval government in Yap district. He noticed both the flag and the characters, and had the latter translated. They represented the name Bwongulimoi, paramount chief some years before. Though Commander Kinney made no further comment, I decided to suggest to the chiefs not only that the painting of a Japanese flag be replaced by an American one, but that [135] the name of the former chief in Japanese characters be replaced by the names of all the chiefs then in office, written in the kind of characters Americans use.

As always, the chiefs accepted our suggestion. (Even if they had been unwilling, they might have been afraid not to accept it. Witness a remark by WolpaitIk, which Tom

1: Burrows--134-135 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 177, 565 Ifalik

translated to this effect: 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. If we don't--no more chiefs!') In due time, Maroligar climbed the post, chipped off the Japanese flag, and--after failing on the first attempt--made quite an exact copy of the American flag given to the island by the navy (pl. 3). I was furnished a board, on which I set about outlining the names of the chiefs.

At this point Tom's thirst for glory made him want his name on the board, too. He argued plausibly that, since he was the interpreter, it would be a convenience for visiting Americans to have that fact posted. In a moment of weakness, I consented to suggest this to the chiefs. They agreed, as they always agreed to our suggestions. So I outlined the names of the chiefs on the board, in capitals; and below them, in smaller capitals and lower-case letters, 'Tom-Interpreter.'

I succeeded only in displeasing all concerned. Tom did not like being distinguished from the chiefs by having his name in smaller letters. The chiefs did not like having the name of a commoner on the OngarIk at all, but did not want to offend their American guest. They decided on a characteristic compromise,--to hang my placard on the OngarIk only when an American ship was anchored at Ifalik."

1: Burrows--135-136 / (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784 Ifalik /·3

"The most sacred part of all Katēlū is a tract just inland from the men's house. This is said to be the site of the ancient men's house which was in use in Maur's time. It is now covered with a thick growth that includes some tall trees, evidence that it has been long unoccupied. This Katēlū is strictly tabu except, nominally, to chiefs; and we never saw even a chief set foot on the central part of it, where the old building stood. All that remains of that is a few vertical slabs, some of them apparently stone corner-posts like those in the present building, while others may be backrest stones; and a terrace or platform strewn with coral gravel and outlined with coral blocks. This is like any other house platform except for a few other lines of blocks at one side, suggesting a bit of terracing which may have constituted a formal entrance.

Maroligar, who acted as caretaker of all Katēlū, did some weeding and trimming about the edges of this part of it, but we never saw him venture on the old platform. The only violation of its sanctity that we did see was by the psychotic called, for short, Tarof. He was subject to outbursts of obstreperous and sometimes violent conduct. On hearing that he had impiously trespassed on the overgrown, tabu site of the old men's house, a group of agitated men, mostly relatives who felt some responsibility for his conduct, gathered at the edge of the overgrown tract. They called to him to come out, and rebuked him for his presumption, but did not venture in after him. This was not from fear of violence on his part, for some of these same men more than once tied him hand and foot after other outbursts. It was from reverence for the sacred site, respect for the tabu, and awe of the spirits of ancient chiefs who are supposed to punish trespassers.

Violation of this tabu by Spiro and me was punished by these spirits. Our camp was on Katēlū, just south of the present men's house and west, or shoreward, of the site of the old one. Our only toilet facilities, at first, were the lagoon and what the navy calls an overwater head, which could be entered only by walking along an unsquared coconut log set at rather a steep angle. The lagoon [136] was well enough, part of the time; but since, unlike the natives, we had to change clothes to wade into it, it was often inconvenient. After one attempt to negotiate the log leading to the overwater head, which ended in an ignominious leap into the water, I gave up trying to use that; and for Spiro, if I remember rightly, a look at it was enough. The only concealment near our tent was the foliage on the overgrown part of Katēlū. We took to using the edges of that, part of the time. Maroligar delicately dissuaded us by intertwining the leaves of the young coconuts about the old site, forming a flimsy barrier, which is a traditional tabu sign. The hint was not lost on us, but now and then, under pressure of time and when we thought we were unobserved, we disregarded it.

About that time came a period of rainy, gusty weather. The chiefs decided that it was visited on Ifalik by the spirits of the old chiefs to show their indignation at the violation of their sanctuary. So they had the overwater head moved to a new position, beside a stone pier that projects into the lagoon; and built a short, level approach, so

1: Burrows--135-136 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 778, 784 Ifalik

that there was no longer any difficulty about using it. Then they had Tom explain the whole situation to us, and ask us to use the new facility. This seems worth telling, not as a funny anecdote, still less as a confession of what now seems stupidity on our part; but rather as an illustration, first, of how the sentiment of rank may work out in conduct, and second, of the diplomacy shown by the chiefs in persuading foreigners to respect their rules."

1: Burrows--136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 784, 565 Ifalik

"Two other sites share, but in much lesser degree, some of the sanctity attributed to Katēlū. One is the homestead Uelepī, traditional residence of the senior lineage of Kovalū clan, whose members succeed to the highest chiefly title. This site is said to be tabu to all but relatives. Except for men of other clans who live there by virtue of marriage to women of this line, we did not hear of outsiders trespassing on it (except the psychotic Tarof on one of his rampages). A similar site, no longer occupied and of less importance but still respected, as far as we know, was Bwagolei, just inland from Katēlū. This is the traditional homestead of the senior lineage of Sauvelārīk clan, holder of the second chiefly title. Tom took me there by virtue of his membership in that lineage, and did his best to make it out as practically equivalent to Uelepī."

1: Burrows--136 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 576, 487 Ifalik

"Commoners are required to acknowledge their subordination to chiefly authority by stooping as they pass in front of the men's house. The main path along the lagoon shore of FalărIk island passes immediately in front of the men's house; but this part of it is not often used. Unless they have business there, commoners detour to shoreward. This roundabout way is noticeably more worn by passing feet than the direct one. Even at this distance, they bend low as they pass, usually with hands clasped behind their backs, like a miner stooping as he walks through a low gallery. This deferential gesture, though rather carefully observed most of the time, is sometimes forgotten or ignored. Children who hold their heads high in passing Katēlū may be rebuked by their elders. One adult who failed to stoop, and was seen by the chief WolpaitIk from the nearby canoe-house, was sharply reprimanded."

1: Burrows--136-137 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 622 Ifalik

"Several points in this elaboration of rank--particularly the awe of ancestral chiefs shown in the respect for the old site at Katēlū, and the formalities about turtle--suggest the Polynesian complex of chieftainship. There, chiefs commonly traced their ancestry to gods, --indeed, the most influential gods, or some of them, seem to have been deified chiefly ancestors. And living chiefs were thought to embody some of this divinity. As for turtle, in more than one part of Polynesia it was offered to the paramount chief explicitly in his divine capacity.

It seems highly probable that the chieftainship complex of [137] Polynesia and that exemplified by Ifalik are historically related. But it is clear that in Ifalik, though native religion still flourishes, the respect shown to chiefs does not include attribution of divinity to them. The oracles of the gods are typically not chiefs. Chiefs do not trace their descent from the gods--in fact, divine genealogies are patrilineal, human ones matrilineal, and both very brief. Except in association with Katēlū, ghosts of chiefs seem no more important than any other ghosts. In sum, religion on Ifalik does not support government in this particular way. As to what process brought about this difference with Polynesia--whether chieftainship in Ifalik has fallen from a former high estate, or chieftainship in Polynesia has been elevated by local development--that could only be determined, if at all, by careful comparative study."

1: Burrows--137-139 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-5
116, 622 Ifalik

"Succession to chieftainship is determined by primogeniture in the female line. Asked for a more exact statement of the rule of succession, the chiefs conferred and issued, through Tom, a series of choices, given below with the comment that seems necessary to explain them.

(1) When a chief dies, the first choice for a successor is a 'brother'. Tom said 'brother' as the only term in English to translate bwisīl. Actually, as shown in the discussion of kinship terms, this one (given there as bwisī, with 1st person possessive suffix instead of that for 3d person) applies not only to siblings of the same sex, but also to more distant relatives in the female line,--to all recognized relatives of the same lineage, sex, and genealogical generation. So this statement includes a range of choices. First would be a true brother; and among brothers, the oldest surviving one. Next would be mother's sisters' sons, with priority to the eldest son of the eldest sister; and so on, as far as kinship is recognized. As a rule, as has been noted, it is recognized only within the lineage. And as the lineage groups (living members of a lineage) are small, the usual extension of kinship terms does not take in a very wide range of relationships.

(2) If no 'brother' is available, next choice will be a 'sister's son' (vatu wei). This term is also applied to more than sons of sisters. The sons of women whom we would call parallel cousins or orthocousins of the deceased chief, on his mother's side, would also be eligible; for the chief would speak of any of them as 'my sister' (moengai); and

the term for 'son' would be used in a similarly extended sense by all of these 'sisters', So, in effect, any man of the chief's lineage, but one generation younger as generations are reckoned genealogically, would be eligible as a *vatu wei.* In practise, the term is not commonly extended beyond true sisters' sons and the sons of mother's sisters' daughters.

(3) If no 'sister's son' is available, the choice will pass to a son, (*la$\overset{L}{u}$*). This statement was a surprise, as a man's sons, or the nephews to whom the same term would be applied, are not of his lineage or even of his clan. When asked about this, Tom said that a son was a possible successor because he was of the same 'house' as the chief. The word for 'house' in this connection, he continued, would be *im,* the ordinary word for dwelling. He knew of no instance in which a chief had been succeeded by a *la$\overset{L}{u}$*. So this statement may have little or no practical significance.

(4) If none of the preceding choices is possible, the chief will be succeeded by 'some other relative.' Again it is questionable whether in practise succession would be, or ever need be, extended to such rather remote relatives. [138]

Because the people of Ifalik do not cherish genealogies, and can not trace relationships farther than their memory of living persons, the only specific cases of succession obtainable were those involving the chiefs in office during our stay. Each knew his own relationship to his immediate predecessor. Some of these statements were confirmed, from memory, by others. In the case of the two highest-ranking chiefs they could cite names of earlier chiefs in order of succession; but did not know the relationships involved.

Wolpetau, No. 1 chief, was a 'brother', in the extended sense, of his predecessor Mul. Their mothers were true sisters.

Maroligar, No. 2 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor, Bwongalimoi.

Paliuilimar, No. 3 chief, was a sister's son of his predecessor.

WolpaitIk, no. 4 chief, was a true brother of his predecessor; 'same father, same mother.'

Toromann, No. 5 chief, was a brother of his predecessor.

Succession in three of these cases followed the choice named first in the list announced by the chiefs. In the other two cases it followed the choice named as second. There is little doubt that these two choices provide a successor to a deceased chief in most instances.

Two limitations on succession were exemplified when the third-ranking title was vacated, shortly before we left Ifalik, by the death of the chief Paliuilimar. Though the matter may not have been entirely settled when we left, we were told that no successor to the title would be named for the time being, as no suitable person was available. If all members of Paliuilimar's clan, Mangauvelar, had been considered eligible, a suitable successor would have been available. But Tom explained that within the clan, some were 'more high', others 'more down,' and that only the 'more high' could succeed to the chieftainship. Apparently this meant that succession is confined to the lineage. This is a typical example of the fact that the people do not clearly conceptualize lineages, even when in actual practise they observe distinctions among lineages. Typically, then, succession is limited to the senior lineage, except in SauvelārIk clan, which has two titles, so that members of two lineages in that clan may become chiefs.

The other limitation followed by not naming a successor to Paliuilimar was one of sex. There was a woman of suitable age in Paliuilimar's lineage. And it is said that women may become chiefs. No specific instance was found, and--unless there was a change after we left--this woman was not considered suitable. Whether female chiefs are entirely a thing of the past, or whether the elevation of a woman to chieftainship is still possible in exceptional cases, only time can tell.

One other qualification, a matter of personal character, was mentioned in general discussions of chieftainship. The quality emphasized is courtesy, already mentioned as one of the master-values. Kindly speech from a chief is so highly valued that it is believed to confer long life on his people, while evil speech from a chief may mean death to them. So if a man otherwise eligible for chieftainship has a reputation for 'bad talk', he may be passed over, and the title conferred on one of his juniors who keeps a civil tongue in his head. In accordance with the general principle that the chiefs interpret the rules, the [139] actual decision in such a case would be left to the chiefs in council. No actual instance was cited.

It is not practicable to leave the title of highest-ranking chief vacant, because final authority in matters of general importance belongs to this position. So when the senior line of descent in Kovalū clan fails, the senior chief of SauvelārIk clan, who ordinarily ranks No. 2, may take the No. 1 position. This had actually happened within the memory of our informants. Oraitiu, a Kovalū chief, was lost at sea during the typhoon of 1907, when he was returning from a visit to Lamotrek. In default of a suitable successor in the Kovalū line, he was succeeded as No. 1 chief by Daoreligar of SauvelārIk clan. Daoreligar was paramount chief in 1909, when Sarfert visited Ifalik. His successor, too, was a SauvelārIk man, Bwongalimoi (he whose name appeared in Japanese characters on the OngarIk). On the death of Bwongalimoi, though, the title reverted to Kovalū in the person of Mulelímar, commonly known as Mul. He was the immediate predecessor of Wolpetau, paramount chief during our stay."

1: Burrows--139-140 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622 Ifalik 1-3

"Matters of concern to the whole atoll are decided by the five chiefs in council. Matters of concern only to one locality are allotted to one or two chiefs, each of whom has some local jurisdiction. Three accounts of this local division of authority agree both as to the general pattern and some of the details, but differ in other details. One version was given by Wolpetau, the paramount chief and presumably best authority; but this was early during our stay on the island, and Tom was not present to interpret, so I may have misunderstood some points. The second was given by Maroligar and one other chief (my notes fail to specify which one, and I can not trust to memory) with Tom interpreting. The third is made up of answers given by Tom at different times, to a variety of specific questions.

All agree that Wolpetau, ranking No. 1, and WolpaitIk, ranking No. 4, have charge of Falālap. Wolpetau said that he had charge of Ievang, WolpaitIk of Iauru. This division was not mentioned by the others, but at least was not denied, so can be taken as correct. Absence of mention of this point by Maroligar or Tom apparently reflects a gap in my questioning. It may also reflect the fact, already brought out, that the division of Falālap into two districts is not very important. The only time we saw this local authority exercised--when a dog bit Spiro, in Ievang (p. 149-50)--the two chiefs acted together.

Authority over Rauau district is divided, and accounts differ as to which chiefs are in charge. Wolpetau said that the rulers of Rauau were Wolpetau, Maroligar, and

Toromann. Maroligar gave the list as Maroligar, Paliuilimar, and Toromann. The difference may be one between theory and practise. Whatever Wolpetau's nominal authority, he did not trouble to exercise it, so far as I could observe. Neither did Paliuilimar. Not only were these two the most aged of the chiefs, but neither lived in Rauau. Wolpetau lived in distant Iauru, Paliuilimar in FalărIk. Both came frequently to Katēlū in Rauau district, to attend chiefs' meetings; but usually left for home as soon as the meetings were over. If they took part in the local affairs of Rauau--which were of a routine sort, while we were there--it must have been only as consultants. The active chiefs in Rauau were the two who lived there, and whose names appear on both lists: Maroligar and Toromann. As between the two, Toromann's role was distinctly subordinate. He was not lacking in ability or initiative. But one of the points that attest his [140] intelligence is his clear understanding of the limits of his authority, as lowest-ranking of the chiefs. He knew his place, and never overstepped its boundaries.

Asked which chief had charge of FalărIk district, Wolpetau only laughed quietly; disparagingly, it seemed to me, as if to imply that FalārIk was beneath the notice of a chief. Maroligar's answer was not incompatible. He named Fagaurateu of Sauwĕl clan as ruler of FalārIk district. Fagaurateu was not a chief, but held the unique position of sub-chief. These two answers presumably express the official position. Tom, at a later time, said that Paliuilimar was in charge of FalārIk. This may have been true in practise, for Paliuilimar lived in FalārIk, and was the only chief who did; so presumably he would be consulted about any local problem. A still later entry in my notes, based on another comment of Tom, says 'It seems that Maroligar has authority over FalārIk, too.' The situation seems to be that Fagaurateu was nominally in charge; but he, besides being inferior in rank to the chiefs, was old, sick, and perhaps senile. Under the circumstances, any chief--but particularly Paliuilimar, who lived in FalārIk district, and Maroligar, highest-ranking and most active resident of FalārIk island--might well intervene whenever it seemed advisable.

Local division of authority among the chiefs seems, on the whole, rather elastic. Yet one statement by WolpaitIk suggests that individual chiefs are held responsible by the other chiefs, for the condition of the districts they control. The statement was in answer to one of a schedule of questions to bring out psychological characteristics. The particular question was aimed at sources of worry or anxiety. WolpaitIk said that one thing he worried about was that the other chiefs might criticise him for the condition of his district. (WolpaitIk was the junior, in age and length of service, of all the chiefs, as well as being next to the bottom in rank; so he might well have been more sensitive on this point than a more experienced man.)"

1: Burrows--140-141 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622, 618 Ifalik 1-3

"Maroligar took charge of the bonito drives in the lagoon, in which the whole population took part. My question about the meaning of this, in terms of division of authority, led to a discussion which is all I have in the way of evidence on the formation of policy. So it will be discussed in the following section.

Formulation of Rules

Concrete evidence as to the initiation of rules of conduct is scanty to very near the vanishing point. The rules are traditional, and their origin is lost in the past. On that point, I can not improve on Tom's answer to all such questions: 'blong before'.

The one possible glimpse of how rules are modified was the answer to my question about Maroligar's authority over the bonito drives. Tom, always the most convenient source of information, was asked first. He said that SauvelārIk clan has charge of the reef and the lagoon. While ordinarily members of other clans are allowed to fish there, they do so only on sufferance, said he. Supervision of the bonito drive by Maroligar, senior SauvelārIk chief, was one manifestation of this general prerogative.

Asked if other clans had similar rights, Tom said he did not know, and suggested referring the question to the chiefs. That was obviously the thing to do anyway; for while his statement sounded plausible, it was suspect because of [141] his continual attempts to lay claim to glory, whether by way of his membership in SauvelārIk clan or by any other means that occurred to him.

At the moment only two chiefs were available; Maroligar and Toromann. The question was referred to them. They talked it over and decided to submit it to all the chiefs. Their reason, Tom explained, was 'Some other chief might say 'This chief 'e lie'.' Plainly this claim of one clan to special authority was a touchy matter.

Next day all five chiefs discussed the question long and seriously. This fact strengthens my suspicion that Tom's statement had some foundation. Otherwise, presumably, they would have dismissed it at once. But their answer gave no suggestion of this. They instructed Tom to tell me that the reef and lagoon belong to all five chiefs together, not to any one clan. Ordinarily it is permissible for anyone to use them. But if the chiefs decide to restrict their use, fishing can be carried on only by their permission. It is the same with the land, they said (disregarding an important difference, that arable land is divided into patches, owned by separate lineages). Ordinarily people may eat the fruits of the land as they please. But in time of shortage--for example, after a hurricane--the chiefs may say 'Only eat a little.' In other words, the chiefs asserted their authority to ration food.

If this answer, as I suspect but can not prove, involved abrogation of a traditional allotment of authority to one clan, it would constitute legislation by the chiefs. Whether this is indeed an instance or not, the obvious way, and the only apparent way in which rules can be modified or new rules initiated under this form of government, is by decree of the chiefs after such discussions. When a situation arises which is not covered by

1: Burrows--140-141 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 622, 618 Ifalik

the rules, or not covered satisfactorily, the chiefs will have to decide it according to their best judgment. Their decision will constitute a precedent, to stand until some new problem requires further modification."

1: Burrows--141-142 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 622, 468, 152 Ifalik 1-2

"While the chiefs have final decision, there is nothing to prevent any individual from requesting or suggesting a new ruling, or even setting up by some unconventional act a situation which may require one. Again I have one possible example, but no trustworthy evidence as to how novel this situation may have been, beyond the fact that it was unique in our brief experience. As in a good deal of the available evidence about the process of government, our presence was indirectly involved. We were a considerable irritant to the body politic.

Tom was assigned by the chiefs to devote his full time to working for us as interpreter. The activities to which he would have ordinarily devoted this time--helping to feed his household, working on his new canoe--were to be taken over by others. On October 15, Tom went on strike. He announced that he would not work for us that day or the next, but would work on his canoe. His reason was not any objection to us or our tratment of him, but the fact that nobody had been working on his canoe for days. If he had to spend all his time with us, he said, his canoe never would be finished.

Conceivably this was the first strike on Ifalik, although, as already said, there is no evidence as to this. What is certain is that it was the only example in our experience of open defiance of the orders of the chiefs. Tom went so far as to criticize the chiefs for not issuing orders to men to work on the canoe--or not issuing them often enough to keep the men on the job. He showed [142] not only a short temper, as compared with the mildness usual on Ifalik, but also considerable courage.

1: Burrows--141-142 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 622, 468, 152 Ifalik

The response of the chiefs was not to issue a command or decree. Nor did they punish Tom for his temerity. Following the general rule of courtesy, they were quite conciliatory. They reasoned with Tom, and persuaded him to reduce his abstention from work for us to one day. The two junior chiefs, WolpaitIk and Toromann, themselves helped him work on the canoe that day, and several younger men appeared. The work seemed to go somewhat better from then on. In other words, Tom won his strike. But it cost him a good deal of emotional stress. About noon on his day of strike, Spiro found him much disgruntled. Not only had the chiefs disapproved of his conduct, however gently; his wife had scolded him, apparently more emphatically, for deserting us. 'Too much talk', Tom said.

The chiefs' mild policy worked well. The strike was limited to one day, and--what was of great importance on Ifalik--there were no hard feelings. By implication, the chiefs had promulgated a rule of conduct, whether or not it was a new one. They had acknowledged the 'right to strike'."

1: Burrows--142-143 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 646, 537 Ifalik 1-3

"Other evidence on rules of conduct is verbal. Yet much of it is in a native setting, hence probably more representative of native behavior than replies to questions from a foreigner would be. It consists of the harangues delivered by the chiefs to the people at three public meetings held in the men's house. At these meetings the chiefs not only make announcements and issue specific orders, but lecture the people about their conduct in general. These speeches or sermons are a traditional way of 'laying down the law'.

There were three of these meetings during our stay. One object of the first, held on August 14, was to issue as formal chiefly commands the suggestions of the American physician about hygiene, made during the visit of the ship that had brought us to Ifalik two weeks earlier. But the immediate occasion of the meeting was a chance remark of Spiro's that there were Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik.

Unexpectedly, this stirred up considerable excitement. The whole expedition, or set of expeditions, seemed to be taken as a kind of competitive examination, in which the visiting Americans would give the various islands a comparative rating in conduct, particularly in cleanliness. In other words, it touched off the lively sentiment of rank--in this case, comparative rank among islands. The people of Ifalik were eager to get a high rating--to gain in rank, if possible, at the expense of their neighbors, in the eyes of the Americans, whom they acknowledged as their superiors; or at least, not to

1: Burrows--142-143 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 646, 537 Ifalik

sink lower. The occasion of the 2nd meeting, held on September 4, was similar; to carry out the suggestions of the American governor and physician, made when the ship called on September 2. The occasion of the third meeting was, at least in part, my request to the chiefs for a performance of the men's religious dances (ur), which otherwise would not have been seen during our stay.

There was a certain amount of formality about the proceedings [KS: public meeting]. Although informal announcements of them spread by word of mouth a day or two before, the formal call was issued (for two of the three we saw) by the lowest-ranking chief, Toromann. He took a conch-shell trumpet, went out on one of the stone piers [143] projecting into the lagoon from Katēlū, and blew repeated long blasts. The meetings were held at the highest-ranking site on the atoll, Katēlū. The people assembled in and about the men's house or big house (Fan Nap), highest ranking building on the site. When they were gathered, the chiefs took their seats beside the highest-ranking part of the building, the OngarIk or front ridge-post, decorated with symbols of rank. After a dignified silence, the chiefs spoke. First to speak was always Toromann, the lowest in rank, as if 'introducing the main speaker'. In part the contents of his speech were the same as those of the others, but always he enjoined the people to heed well the words of their chiefs. The second speaker, at least in the first and last of the three meetings (this point not noted for the second one), was Wolpetau, paramount chief. Other chiefs spoke, as the spirit moved them, in no fixed order. This was partly a matter of individual gifts

1: Burrows--142-143 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 646, 537 Ifalik

and inclinations. Old Paliuilimar, who had a reputation as an orator, always spoke, and was the most vehement and dramatic; indeed, at the close of some of his speeches he looked alarmingly exhausted. Wolpetau always spoke, ex officio; but seemed not to revel in it as Toromann and Paliuilimar did. Ordinarily he was a man of rather few words. Maroligar spoke only once, and then briefly, in a low voice. Wolpaitlk never spoke at all. Not only was he the youngest in years and length of service, but he was fat, had a very high voice, and was a bit of a clown and butt of ridicule, though the jokes were always good-natured. Commoners never spoke, except for brief interjections of assent and applause, like 'amen-shouting'. In this the most frequent expression was Ro̍ngro̍ngo̍! (Hear, hear!)"

1: Burrows--143 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 646, 522, 514 Ifalik

"At the end, the chiefs distributed tobacco among the people. Jokes, which might come at any moment in their speeches, were frequent in their last words; as if to heal any wounds inflicted by what scolding was involved in the earlier ones. This interpretation accords with repeated statements, some of them in song texts, that an extremely high value is set on kindly words from the chiefs. With 'good talk' from their chiefs, the people will thrive and live to a ripe old age; with 'bad talk', they will die.

I managed to get a translation of only one of these jokes, made by Wolpetau as he walked among the women, passing out tobacco with a bit of jolly swagger, which, I judge, may have come hard to this quiet, dignified man. He and the others had been preaching about hygiene, especially about using the lagoon or the American-plan 'over-water heads' for defecation. Wolpetau said: 'If any woman wants to defecate on shore, let her make a basket, and defecate in that, and then carry it into the sea.' This was greeted with uproarious laughter."

1: Burrows--143-144 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 646, 461 Ifalik 1-3

"For a more specific picture of one of these meetings, here is the account of the last one, from my field journal:

Oct. 23.-Third public meeting today. The people had notice of it yesterday. In the morning Toromann blew the conch from the stone pier. He made two trips, seemed like an hour apart. The people were slow to come.

Toromann began with what sounded, in Tom's translation, like the usual formal beginning. Come all ye. Listen to what the chiefs have to say. 'Work good, no work bad. No steal something from 'nother man.' He spoke in five bursts, with meditative pauses between. Burst 3 was apparently a joke, but I didn't get it translated in time.

As usual, WolpaitIk didn't talk. Maroligar, toward the end, did, but in a low conversational tone and at no considerable length. In a pause between Toromann's early efforts, Maroligar suggested something to Paliuilimar, seemed like [144] urging him to speak; but P. said nothing at that time. Toromann's last burst was to the effect that when women were working in the taro swamp, they should not take taro that did not belong to them.

Wolpetau was the second speaker. He talked about menstruating women. Said when the blood first appeared, they should go into their seclusion house and stay there, not go to the taro swamp. When the flow was finished, and not before then, was the time to go back to work.

Between bursts, he worked industriously at rope-making.

Wolpetau's second burst was to the effect that when the chiefs tell men to go out fishing, they are to go. Then, if there is a good catch, the chiefs will see to it that fish are distributed to all the people.

Third burst: if any man doesn't want to go out with the others when the chiefs order a fishing expedition, let him speak up now.*

Then Toromann filled in, beginning with a hear, hear the words of the chief. He pointed out that if men didn't go fishing, and women didn't work in the taro swamp, there would be nothing to eat. Ifalik is too small. (Meaning, apparently, too small to support loafers.) He called on Paliuilimar to speak, but the old man did not respond until the second urging. Then he finally got going, in a low voice at first, but warming up. He told the people to heed what their chiefs said--the regular formula. Said some men didn't seem to like to work when the chiefs told them to. Very bad business that. He also told them to do whatever Mel Spiro and I told them to (but of course we're not giving orders, except to Talimeira and Uveli**of a morning.) He told them to clean up,

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"* Apparently a challenge to some malingerer. Mainly rhetorical; as might be expected, nobody spoke up.

** Talimeira was assigned by the chiefs to work for us; Uveli volunteered for the same service.

against the coming of the ship.

Finally, when everything seemed about over, Wolpetau said that by and by there would be dancing. This was the promised response to my suggestion that I'd like to see some of the ur I have been getting the words to. I could not make out whether he set a definite time, but they'll come through.

Paliuilimar and Toromann wound up with short speeches. I had asked Tom to tell the chiefs that the important place to clean was around the houses, and to avoid stagnant water because of mosquitoes, rather than to do a wholesale weeding job in the interior, as they did after the last call of the ship. Pointed out that the doctor was the man interested in how clean they were. Paliuilimar said something to that effect in his final speech, but by the time it got back to me in Tom's translation it was somewhat diluted.

The element of formality makes of these meetings a ritual, not unlike the type of church service in our culture that emphasizes the sermon. In this case the meaning is not religious. Like the kava ceremonies of western Polynesia, parts of Fiji, and some eastern Micronesian islands, these meetings serve to manifest and emphasize the sentiments of rank and law and order, as exemplified by obedience to the chiefs."

1: Burrows--144-146 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 626, 646 Ifalik 1-3

"To show which rules of conduct are particularly emphasized, recurrent [145] commandments in the speeches at the three meetings are listed below, beginning with those that seemed most frequent. The list is minimal, because Tom was not so well trained for running translations as the interpreters who perform the same service at meetings of the United Nations; so his accounts were sketchy. It was only at the last meeting that I could understand any considerable part of what was going on; and even that was only midway in our stay on the island, so the language was still only dawning on me. The commandments recorded were these:

Heed the words of the chiefs
Clean away rubbish
Work hard, so that there will be plenty of food
Do not steal (with emphasis on food)
Share with the poor and sick (emphasis on food)
Build 'overwater heads' or latrines

Another commandment, not recorded at these meetings, but heard several times--one of them, in a hypothetical chief's address to the people dictated by Tom as a text--was 'Do not speak evil of people of another clan.' During one of the meetings, Paliuilimar spoke especially to people of his clan, Mangaulevār, and Maroligar followed with a brief talk which contained repeated mention of his clan, SauvelārIk. I did not manage to get a translation of this passage.

The repeated insistence on respect and obedience to the chiefs illustrates one of the main purposes of these meetings. The repeated emphasis on food suggests that one of the main sentiments clusters about food; at least, that abundance of food is a master value. The repeated strictures against idling and stealing suggest that these may be particularly common forms of misbehavior, though the only specific instance noted was the tongue-lashing about shirking communal fishing, which seemed to be directed at one or more specific malingerers.

Conspicuous by their absence from these harangues are rules about sexual relations and violence. To be sure, the one mention of the traditional behavior required of menstruating women is in the general area of sexuality. But nothing was said about clan exogamy or adultery. Clan exogamy is certainly taken seriously. We have seen that there were no violations of it in 1947-8. Perhaps it is so generally observed there is no need to talk about it.

Adultery is quite another matter. According to common report it was, at least, not uncommon. The fact that the chiefs did not condemn it in their speeches may indicate that this is a rule which the government does not try to enforce.

As to violence, that seems to be, like violation of clan exogamy, so rare that it does not have to be condemned verbally. Certainly the courteous, peaceable behavior of these people is one of their most striking characteristics.

The frequent exhortations against theft in the chiefs speeches at public meetings

1: Burrows--144-146 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 626, 646 Ifalik

suggest that this crime may not be uncommon. There is no question that public opinion strongly condemns it. Tom repeatedly expressed abhorrence of a thief (melmorok). But he as often assured us that the people of Ifalik would not steal anything of ours; that we need have no hesitation about leaving our property unguarded. Judging by the chiefs' exhortations, the kind of property most often stolen is food. At least once, taro was specifically mentioned. In the taro patches the vegetation is so dense, and the place so little frequented, that a worker could often take taro from someone else's patch without being seen. All we can say, in the absence of specific cases, is that theft, whether rare or not, is at least rarely detected."

"On the evidence at hand, the government seems to confine itself to a rather narrow jurisdiction in enforcing rules of conduct. Malicious talk, idling or malingering, theft, and failure to observe the restrictions imposed on menstruating women were the kinds of misconduct rebuked by the chiefs at the public meetings. From other sources, to be discussed shortly, violence and some kinds of sexual misconduct can be added to the list. Other rules--and in some instances, even those just mentioned--seem to be enforced only by public opinion, as expressed particularly in gossip; or by concerted action within a small group of relatives--a household or two or three closely related households; or by fear of supernatural punishment.

Positive sanctions for observance of these rules consist mainly of continued trust, friendliness, and co-operation. Promotion to higher status, another way to reward approved conduct, has little scope in Ifalik, where status is so largely a matter of descent and primogeniture. Yet informal promotion to higher standing in general esteem is constantly operative; and, though the absence of any marked tendency to compete with others or excel them in good works makes the operation of public approval inconspicuous, the general smoothness of human relationships suggests that the desire for approval may be a powerful motive.

Negative sanctions to punish breach of the rules follow a general pattern of retribution in kind, with increasing severity for repeated offences. Sarfert obtained a list of punishments for specific offenses, like a criminal code. Being based only on verbal testimony

1: Burrows--146 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 627 Ifalik

--and presumably on only one questioning--it is probably over-simplified. Yet it accords with the general pattern that emerges from my longer, more passive observation. First offenses of a minor kind, such as 'bad talk' or malingering, are punished by reprimand and warning from the chiefs (the paramount chief, Sarfert says; probably so in most cases). Repeated offenses of these kinds will be punished by confiscation of property (Sarfert specifies a canoe)."

1: Burrows--146 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 685 Ifalik

"Theft calls for restitution to the aggrieved party of goods approximately equivalent to those stolen, --rather like damages for a tort in our law. The thief is also publicly reprimanded; and repeated thefts will bring down heavier confiscation, more like what we call a fine. (Ifalik, however, makes no such distinction as we do between civil and criminal law)."

1: Burrows--146-147 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 682 Ifalik

"Assault may be punished by anything from a reprimand, in the case of a first and mild offense, to confiscation of all property (Sarfert specifies plots of land, canoes, and clothes) in the case of murder. According to Sarfert's list, a murderer is also bound, brought to the men's house, and severely reprimanded in the presence of the whole populace, but then released. Sarfert also specifies payment for lesser injuries:

For loss of an eye, arm, or leg--a canoe and two cloths.
For loss of both eyes, arms, or legs--two canoes, and all of the cloths owned by the culprit.
For loss of a finger--one cloth.
For loss of two or three fingers--two cloths.
For loss of four fingers--two or three cloths.
For loss of a hand--three or four cloths. [147]

Not having a copy of Damm's monograph on Ifalik, I did not check this list with native informants. I see no reason to question its authenticity. But the people, as we saw them, are so mild and civil in their dealings with each other that all talk of severe deliberate injuries seemed remote and hypothetical. Not only did I hear no accounts of murder or grievous assault, but find no mention of anything more severe than a few blows with a stick in more than 230 song texts that seem to cover the whole range of experience that moves them enough to be commemorated in song."

1: Burrows--147 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 684 Ifalik 7-2

"Destruction of property is mentioned in one song as a penalty for adultery. The poetess--who was the 'other woman'--sang:

If his wife finds out,
Her people will attack us.
If I steal her husband,
They will wreck our house.

Tom--with confirmation from the chiefs, who were all present when the song was dictated by one of them--said that this is a traditional penalty for adultery. Relatives of the aggrieved spouse destroy crops on the land of the homebreaker, cutting down banana trees and coconuts. (I did not make sure whether this referred only to bunches of nuts, or to the coconut trees.) They also destroy any portable property and objects in the house, but not the house itself. This procedure is said to have the approval of the chiefs. But there had been no actual instance of it for a long time.

The penalty for incest--defined as sexual relations with fellow-clansmen or parent--is death or banishment. This was Tom's reply to a question from Spiro. The fact that the penalty is by far the severest we heard of, shows how seriously clan exogamy is regarded. But I never heard of an actual case of incest, and no couples were 'living in sin' in this sense while we were on Ifalik. So as far as we know this rule is only a threat, though perhaps an effective one.

One other hint of law enforcement in sexual relations occurs in a mother's lament for

1: Burrows--147 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 684 Ifalik

a daughter who died young. The burden of the whole song is 'Don't gossip about her now.' There is mention of 'a man from the district' coming to spy upon the girl and her lover, because she was considered too young for love. Asked whether this was customary, Tom said it was. But no such patrolmen were on duty during our stay. Presumably one would be assigned by the chiefs in case of complaint or scandal."

1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 681, 231 Ifalik 1-4

"Specific observations on misconduct and its punishment are almost entiely lacking. The only misdemeanors that became public knowledge during our stay on the atoll were committed by four dogs and one madman. None of these cases represents normal relationships among human beings. Such as it is, though, this evidence is of such a valuable kind that it seems advisable to examine it in detail.

The four dogs bit human beings. The penalty for that is death. In three of the cases it was promptly imposed.

Treatment of dogs in general is capricious. They are sometimes fondled, sometimes ignored, sometimes teased in ways that seemed to us cruel. This teasing may furnish one outlet for the aggression which, under the general rule of courtesy, can hardly be discharged overtly against human beings.

In the first case it seemed to us that the dog had ample provocation to [148] bite. Tom, too--whose views may have been affected by exposure to other customs in his travels--grumbled when dog-bites began to assume the proportions of a crime wave. He held that people (boys, I think he said) ought to be made to leave the dogs alone. Otherwise there would soon be no dogs left. A dog is like a man, Tom went on. If it is mistreated, it wants to fight.

The first instance can perhaps be best described by another quotation from the journal:

August 30. The small boys of this neighborhood killed a dog this morning. He was the biggest dog on the island. . . He used to chase all other male dogs away. The last

1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 681, 231 Ifalik

few days there had been much copulation between him and a bitch. A very noisy business, with yelping and a kind of bawling that he also uses when attacking another male. The yelping comes from the bitch, perhaps only in the painful process of disengaging. With the cruelty toward dogs which we have noticed among the boys, there had been some stone throwing and other teasing along with all this.

This morning our boys told us this dog had bitten a man, so that it drew blood. (Probably the man had asked for it.) The dog came around and hung about us all through breakfast, in hopes; as he often does at mealtime. He was gentle and friendly, as always with us; unlike his mate of the last few days, who is apt to bark at us whenever we go far from our tent.

The boys seem to have passed a death sentence on the dog. Talimeira said to it, in some of his newly acquired English, 'Bimeby you die.' Mel told the dog to stick around with us, and he seemed to get the idea; he did it for a while. He knew the boys were after him. They all had sticks and stones. He took refuge between two canoes in the canoe-house, but there they could hit him with sticks. He ran away, with them in noisy pursuit, and we heard howls and yelps.

Nest thing we saw was the dog swimming out in the lagoon. Uveli went out in a canoe and herded the dog away from shore. I could see his head, far out. . . .More canoes went out later, and apparently kept him from coming ashore.

Toward noon the boys came by. When we asked what had happened to the dog, they

1: Burrows--147-149 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 681, 231 Ifalik

said he drowned in the lagoon.

The nominal owner of this dog had gone to Faraulep. Perhaps that was why the boys took the law in their own hands. They seemed to have a lot of fun. Nobody objected, except ourselves; and we did not try to insist, because our business there was to observe custom, not reform it.

The next time, a dog bit a small boy, I do not know on what provocation. Its owner and other men of the household took it into the woods, killed it, and, we were told, ate it.

The third time, a bitch with pups, that I had previously noticed as extremely irritable, attacked and bit Spiro. This time there was no more provocation than his unusual appearance, as compared with the natives, when he passed near where the animal lived.

Mayhem committed against the foreigner who was the guest of the [149] chiefs, and in some sense a representative of the high authority of the United States, made this nothing less than an international incident. So this time the chiefs took a hand. Wolpetau and WolpaitIk, the chiefs in charge of Falālap, where the offense was committed, went in person and saw to it that the dog was put to death. Everybody, particularly the chiefs, the people of Falālap, and the Americans, were agitated about this for some time; the chiefs and people of Falālap because it seemed to threaten the good feeling that prevailed between them and the Americans; the Americans because, if the wound had become infected, with no medical aid available and no way to summon it, the danger would have been serious. (Luckily, the wound healed cleanly.) Some time later, when I passed a house platform on Falālap, a woman called to me reassuringly 'No dogs!' Again, when a dog barked at me there, a man in the canoe-house nearby roused from his revery to call it off.

The fourth offense was committed against Maroligar by the dog of his colleague Toromann. He was playing with it and fondling it when it bit his hand. They were in sight of me, and this time I saw no teasing or cruelty. Maroligar, one of the gentlest and most courteous of this courteous people, insisted that the matter be overlooked."

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) . Woleaians
116, 683, 158 Ifalik 1-3

"The lone human culprit was 'Tarof', the only troublesome one of several psychopaths on the island. As already shown in the account of his violation of the tabu site on Katēlū, he could not stand authority. Most of the time he seemed more dangerous to himself than to anybody else, as he made several ineffectual attempts to commit suicide. Once he struck a young man, who was himself something of a 'mental case' and who, Spiro thought, had probably provoked the attack by teasing. Again, he was reported to have thrown a stone at his mother-in-law. He was moved from Falālap to Rauau at the request of his wife, who had been living in terror of him. In Rauau, too, he frightened the women of the household and neighborhood. At last he was moved into a house that stood off by itself.

Twice, after his escapades, he was tied hand and foot. The decision to do this was reached, so far as I could make out, by his male relatives. One of these was Maroligar, senior chief of Rauau district, where all this went on. Tarof, the patient, particularly resented Maroligar's chiefly estate. The one time that I saw him tied up, it was Maroligar who first took hold of him and laid him on the ground for tying. But this was the only evidence I saw of Maroligar assuming more responsibility than anybody else. He did not take charge and give orders, as he did in the bonito fishing or (less conspicuously) in such Rauau public works as the repair of a canoe-house. He seemed to be acting, not in his capacity as a chief, but simply as one of the relatives. The whole affair was handled as a family matter, rather than a governmental one.

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 683, 158 Ifalik

Two or three times, much to the shame of his relatives and the chiefs, Tarof took little articles from our tent: once a calendar hung from a post, once a bush-knife, once an intrenching tool; never food. The calendar was brought back from the house where Tarof by that time was living alone. The knife he brought back himself. He had used it only to cut a piece of wood for some harmless purpose. The intrenching tool he returned, with a lavish gift of *angorIk* (turmeric). He had used it only to dig this offering for us.

That is the sum of the overt misconduct we observed on Ifalik, except for a few accidental glimpses of furtive love-making. On the whole our observations leave the impression that the people of Ifalik are so law-abiding as to leave the chiefs very little to do in the way of law enforcement. The chiefs occupy themselves more with prevention--in haranguing the people about how they ought to behave--than with punishment. Most of their decisions and orders are concerned with public [150] works: communal fishing expeditions, repair of canoe-houses, making of seines, and so on. The shortage of evidence as to misconduct and punishment, however disappointing to ethnographers in search of specific data, is a striking tribute to the success of the native government in maintaining law and order. For the most part, public opinion seems to keep behavior within the approved channels so well that negative sanctions do not have to be invoked. An apparent exception is adultery. In that respect, the government of Ifalik seems to be in the same position as our own local governments, which do not attempt

1: Burrows--149-150 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 683, 158 Ifalik

to supervise the sexual behavior of the citizens except in the comparatively rare cases when formal complaints are brought in, or scandal becomes so flagrant that it can not be overlooked."

1: Burrows--150 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 642 Ifalik

"An attempt to compare the government of Ifalik and that of the United States is interesting, though the data do not permit doing it with scientific rigor. In form the government of Ifalik is strictly aristocratic. In practise it is quite democratic, in the sense that every individual gets a chance to express his opinion and can make sure that it will be heard and considered by those in power. Perhaps any form of government would be democratic, in practise, with so small a population, unless there were rigid class distinctions.

The government of the United States, in form, is strictly democratic. In practise, as all citizens seem to agree, it falls far short of that ideal. Again, size and complexity are obviously a main factor.

If democracy in practise is the goal to aim at, there seems to be no reason to change the traditional form of local government. All the more, in view of the remarkable degree to which the people observe their laws. There is, on the other hand, a strong reason against attempting such a change. Any form of government foreign to their traditions would be confusing and disturbing. It would lead to difficulties that would probably extend into matters remote from government, so that some of them could hardly be foreseen. Pretty surely, for a long time at least, it would not work as well as the established system."

1: Burrows--151 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 609 Ifalik 1-2

"It is already plain that government in Ifalik, during our stay there, was dominated by two factors: one, their own tradition; the other, the new influence of the United States. The latter was exercised through occasional visits of the Naval Government ship, and--mildly, involuntarily, yet steadily--by the two American anthropologists.

The previous chapter has given what was observed in the way of official action in foreign relations. An attempt to understand underlying attitudes, however, calls for examination of whatever other evidence can be found. One source of evidence is the legends collected on Ifalik,--to use 'legend' for the traditions that most resemble history, as distinguished from myths, with their supernatural setting, and tales told for entertainment. It happens that all the legends collected deal with relationships between the people of Ifalik and those of other islands.

This chapter will present these legends and attempt to interpret them. Each will be followed by some discussion of details, based mainly on comparison with versions recorded on Ifalik and neighboring islands by the German expedition. Some of this has little direct bearing on foreign relations, but at least it shows what parts of the legends are relatively constant in different versions: and how far the stories told in Ifalik during our stay agree with those from the other islands concerned. The whole series of legends will be followed by a more general interpretation, intended to bring out what they show about the attitudes of the people of Ifalik toward foreign countries. Finally, this will be supplemented by what can be learned from books and from informants

1: Burrows--151 - (1947-48) Woleaians -2
116, 173, 609 Ifalik

about recent contact with foreigners."

"From time immemorial the people of Ifalik have acknowledged the rule of some outside power. Their traditions name as the earliest of these foreign overlords two lines of chiefs in Gagil district on Yap. One of their legends traces this relationship back to the first settlement of the island. What little ethnological comparison can be made here suggests other possibilities; but no such doubt seems to exist in native minds. The legend follows, as dictated to me by one of the five chiefs, in conference with the others. Tom acted as interpreter. In rewording his account, I have tried to keep as close to it as possible without too much violence to English idiom.

First Settlement of Ifalik

Long, long ago, a chief of Garpar (Gatschapar) village, in Gagil district, Yap, ordered some of his people to go out and colonize the outer islands to the east. He himself remained in Yap.

In charge of the expedition was a man named Tatar, who was accompanied by his sister, Iau. They went first to Mogmog on Ulithi; then to Wetegau (Utagal?) in Woleai, then to Ifalik and the other islands--Faraulep, Elato, Lamotrek, Satawal, and so on to Puluwat and Truk and 'all Caroline place.' The chain of command, ever since, is from Yap to Mogmog, from Mogmog to Wetegau, Wetegau to Ifalik, from Ifalik to the other islands. [152]

On Ifalik Tatar left one man and one woman from each of the eight clans. The two from each clan were brother and sister. Their names were:

From Kovalū clan: Maraige and his sister Lemaregara.

From SauvelārIk clan: Alovar and his sister Eilapikel.

From Mangaulevār clan: Trigabwa and his sister Ungusaren, sometimes known as Litamata.

From Rapevelū clan: Uelisogo and his sister Iau.

From Sauwĕl clan: Temou and his sister Narom.

From Bwĕl clan: Miatomwar and his sister Ilametoi.

From Kailangailuk clan: Uetiu and his sister Lemangeverau.

From Kailangaluelea clan: Marogerag and his sister Ilimĕng.

The descendants of these women, who married the men from other clans, make up the membership of the clans today.

The first men's house was built at Iramai, in the Ievang district of Falālap. No building stands there now, but the site is still remembered. It was used by Tatar, Alovar, and the other early settlers. Another early chief of Kovalū clan was Filitamol. Another early chief of SauvelārIk clan was Maur. In dictating this story, it was said that Maur used the men's house at Iramai. But in the story of the war with Woleai, Maur is associated with the men's house Katēlū on FalārIk.

This was the story of first settlement as dictated by the chiefs. Bits of information from various other sources support it in some details, differ in others. Tom himself made one change in the course of passing the story on to me; a very slight one, yet not insignificant. In his first version he named Ifalik before Woleai. This was later changed to conform to the order given as the chain of command. This seems to reflect an unresolved inconsistency about the relative rank of the two atolls. In the foregoing story, Woleai outranks Ifalik. In the account of the war with Woleai, to be given shortly, Ifalik outranks Woleai. Questioned about this, Tom said that the account of the war, giving Ifalik precedence over Woleai, is true; but that Wetegau in Woleai precedes Ifalik in the matter of relaying messages from the high chiefs in Yap. This could reconcile the two stories; yet it was my impression that in Tom's mind they remained unreconciled.

In one detail the story may seem self-contradictory. Iau is named both as sister of Tatar and as sister of Uelisogo. Asked about this, Tom said there were two women named Iau. Another possibility is that Tatar and Uelisogo were brothers. The name Ilimang or Ilimëng also occurs twice; once as the founder of the clan Kailangaluelea, once as the wife Maur took on Woleai.

Among the details in which other accounts vary are the names of the first settlers. In a brief account received from Fonachar in Yap, before we went to Ifalik, the name of the leader of the colonizing party was [153] recorded as Liomerer. The only name at all like this in the story collected on Ifalik is Lemaregara (final 'a' silent), the woman of Kovalū clan. Sarfert names as the first settler Modj (recorded by me as Maur) said

1: Burrows--151-153 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 173 Ifalik

to have come on a raft with his wife Filitamol. My informants insisted that Maur was a later chief of SauvelărIk clan, and Filitamol a later chief of Kovalū clan. Sarfert has Ilamai as the name of the house where Modj and Filitamol first lived, while my informants used it as the name of the site of the first men's house."

1: Burrows--153 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173, 618 Ifalik

"The clans represented by the colonizers, as told to me, are the same as those found on Ifalik during our stay. They differ widely from Sarfert's list of clans. I would be inclined to reject Sarfert's list, whereever it differs from mine, except for one thing; that my informants admitted the former existence on Ifalik of one of the clans he named--Saupuluwat. The name suggests that this clan came from Puluwat rather than Yap. Sarfert also mentions later arrivals from Woleai and Faraulep; such a voyage from Puluwat might account for the presence of this clan. However, as already said in the discussion of social structure, several other clan names listed by Sarfert were, according to my informants, never represented on Ifalik.

Another kind of early arrival mentioned by Sarfert was 'very large devils in human form, so thorny that big fish were speared on their bodies. They swam to the island, but when they did not find any food, they went peacefully away again.' Though no such episode was told to me, I see no reason to question the existence of such a tradition, at least at the time of Sarfert's visit."

1: Burrows--153-154 (1947-48) Woleaians / 2
116, 173, 648 Ifalik

"Lieut. Carrol identified the Kovalū clan of Ifalik with one of two branches of the Yap clan called Fanif. According to a legend he collected on Yap, the two branches of this clan are descended from two sisters. One of them went overland from some unnamed starting point to Tomil district. The other was blown out to sea in a canoe. She came ashore at Onean in Gagil district, where her descendants constitute the Niarou branch of the clan, the one that is related to Ifalik's Kovalū. Similarly, Lieut. Carrol equated the SauvelărIk clan of Ifalik with the Ueloy clan of Yap. As for the six lower ranking clans of Ifalik, he had heard nothing about them on Yap, and inferred that, even if they originated on Yap, they must have reached Ifalik indirectly, after a sojourn somewhere else.

The traditional subordination to this line of chiefs in Yap has been maintained by fairly regular voyages both ways. Whether such voyages were made every year I could not make sure. Fonachar of Yap said that when the people of Ifalik came to Gatschapar, they would bring as tribute cloths, mat sails, mats, sennit rope, and coconut 'candy'. I could not make out what was meant by coconut candy. Hearing the story before we went to Ifalik, I supposed I would find out there. But nothing on Ifalik nowadays could very well be called coconut candy.

Fonachar said that the people of Yap would contribute to their visitors from the atolls turmeric, canoes made of the better wood available on high islands, mats, betel nuts, and food. Though thought of as a matter of tribute one way and largesse the other, these

1: Burrows--153-154 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 173, 648 Ifalik

mutual gifts amounted to an economic exchange. The atoll men would sometimes remain on Yap for considerable periods, and work for their overlord. One indication that the people of Ifalik did not always rejoice in this subordination is a bit of [154] sarcasm in an Ifalik song about a typhoon:

> The people of Yap will be sorry to hear of this;
> There will be nothing left for them to take."

1: Burrows--154 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 648, 175 Ifalik

"Foreign vessels, as they came to replace native canoes for such long voyages as that between Ifalik and Yap, continued to foster the old relationship by carrying passengers both ways. Maintenance of the traditional chain of command has been a policy of the U.S. Naval government, though some officers disapprove of it. In 1947-48 the American ships, on their tours of these 'outer islands', took along the Yap chiefs who were regarded as overlords of the atolls. The highest-ranking of them, Fithingmau, who was old and partly paralyzed, was represented by his heir-apparent. He claims no special jurisdiction over Ifalik. Foneg of Gatschapar village (Gagil district, Yap) was considered the overlord of Ifalik. On these trips he would always meet with the chiefs, receive gifts, particularly of cloths, and pray. Lieut. Carroll said that the prayers were for good crops, an abundance of fish, and fair weather. Lieut. Carroll considered the ascendancy of the Yap chiefs mainly a religious matter. Some other Naval government officials, who disapproved of encouraging this old relationship, said that the Yap chiefs maintained their ascendancy mainly by threats of inflicting disaster through their supernatural power. During our stay, the Yap people brought to those of the atolls many baskets of food, particularly boi nuts (Tahitian chestnut), bananas, watermelons and pineapples.

Return gifts were meager: hospitality-but nothing lavish-while the visiting chiefs were ashore; a cloth or two on each trip; perhaps other bits of handicraft; young coconuts to drink. Some other atolls contributed a canoe or two. The people of Ifalik seemed to

1: Burrows--154 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 648, 175 Ifalik

accept their subordination. I heard no grumbling about it. No more did I see any signs of enthusiasm."

"Conquest of Nearby Islands

In contrast to the acknowledged subordination to Yap is a series of legends that tell of conquest of the atolls nearest to Ifalik, extermination of the early inhabitants, and repopulation by colonists from Ifalik. These make Ifalik the mother country of all these atolls, as far as their present population is concerned. These legends follow, as told by the five chiefs, with Tom for interpreter.

Woleai

Maur, an ancient chief of SauvelārIk clan on Ifalik, went to Woleai, took there a wife named Ilimëng, and had by her a son, Legagilewau̍. Some of the men of Woleai, jealous because of his winning the woman, attacked him, beat him about the head and body, and left him for dead.

In the night the woman Ilimëng went out of the house to urinate. She did not see the fallen body of Maur, and urinated on him. The urine so stung his wounds that he returned to consciousness.

Maur tied up his wounded head with a bit of rope. At daybreak he swam out on a piece of driftwood, spent the day at sea, and came in again at night. He slept in his house, and left again early in the morning. [155] He took a piece of coconut leaf and tied it about the wrist of his son, Legagilewau̍.

Finally Maur went out through the pass on his bit of driftwood. One man saw him and cried out 'Maur is still alive!' But the Woleai people laughed. 'No, Maur is dead!' There was much talk about sending a canoe out to see, but they did not find him.

Maur swam on his driftwood all the way to Ifalik, and landed on the little uninhabited island of Ellā. A canoe went by and he hailed it. He told the boatman that he was Maur, and that the people of Woleai had tried to kill him.

The man went to the men's house, Katēlū, and spread the news. Another canoe was sent to Ellā to bring Maur to Katēlū. He summoned all the people.

When all the men of Ifalik were gathered together before him, he told them how the Woleai people had fallen upon him and left him for dead. 'I will not waste words', he said. 'I will take off my loin cloth, and if my penis points to Woleai, that will be a sign to you to go there and kill all the people.'

He took off his loin cloth, and his penis pointed to Woleai. 'Go kill all the people', he shouted, 'men, women, and children. Only spare the woman Ilimĕng, and the boy who has a strip of coconut leaf tied around his wrist.'

The men of Ifalik went to work and made spears (kowai), many spears for each man. They went to Woleai in many canoes--two hundred, three hundred. In Woleai they went first to Falālap, then to Mariong, then to Traulap, then to Paleau, then to Raur. Everywhere they attacked the Woleai people and speared them--women, children, and all. But they spared the woman Ilimëng and the boy Legagilewau, who had the strip of coconut leaf tied about his wrist.

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Next the Ifalik warriors went to Wetegau. All the people fled and swam over to Falālu̍s. Twice the Ifalik men tried to make a landing there, but twice they were turned back by the defenders.

Then the Ifalik people took a log, set up a coconut leaf on it like a sail, and shoved it out to sea from Wetegau. The Woleai people thought it was an Ifalik canoe setting out for home, and decided that all the Ifalik people had gone back.

Two Woleai canoes came back to Wetegau. The Ifalik men had hidden their canoes in the bush and covered them with leaves.

A Woleai man climbed a breadfruit tree, plucked a fruit, and said, 'The Ifalik men are very strong, but now they are gone. We won't be bothered with them any more.'

At this the Ifalik men came out of hiding, with a 'What's that you say? We'll see about that!' The Woleai men fled into the water, but were speared there. [156]

The Ifalik men caught the Woleai men during a bonito drive, attacked and killed them. Then they went on to Falālu̍s and killed the women and children, too.

The canoes returned to Ifalik, leaving only Ilimĕng and her boy alive on Woleai. They had a great feast at home, and then assembled again at Katē̆lū̆.

Maur told them it would be too bad to have no people on Woleai. Then he sent people from Ifalik to settle in Woleai:

One man and his sister from the clan Kovalū
One man and his sister from the clan SauvelārIk

One man and his sister from the clan Mangaulevār
One man and his sister from the clan Rapevelū
One man and his sister from the clan Sauwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Bwēl
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangailuk
One man and his sister from the clan Kailangaluelea

Each of the men became a chief in Woleai. Little boys went too, with the women, their mothers. These people, with Maur's wife and son, repopulated Woleai.

So now when Ifalik men go to Woleai, there is no more fighting. It is as if the two islands were all one place. People from either island visit the other, do not have to ask for food, but live as if they were at home.

This version itself includes two accounts of how the Woleai men were killed, told one after the other with no attempt to reconcile them; one about an ambush on land, the other about a surprise attack during a bonito drive. The two could be reconciled, of course, by attributing one of them to one islet on Woleai, the other to another. But the incident of a surprise attack while the men were fishing appears also in two versions of the legend about Faraulep. One of them, told to me on Ifalik, will be given shortly (p. 160-1). The other was told on Faraulep to Hambruch, during the German expedition. The suggestion is that this incident may have been transferred from the legend about

Faraulep to that about Woleai.

A version of this legend recorded by Sarfert differs in several details from the one just given. The beginning is similar, except that the incident of the woman urinating on his unconscious body is not included. Nor are the names of the woman and the son she bore to Maur, there written as 'Modj'.

After the attack on him, Maur is said to have returned to Ifalik in his canoe instead of by swimming with a piece of driftwood. But in another of Sarfert's stories, which attributes to 'Modj' the first settlement of Ifalik, he is said to have come there with his wife on a raft.

The incident of Maur's penis pointing toward Woleai does not occur in Sarfert's version.

The order of islets on Woleai visited by the Ifalik expedition is the same in Sarfert's version and in mine, except that his list omits [157] two of those mentioned in the one told to me:

German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H. O. Chart
'Hauptinsel'	Falalap	Woleai (?)
----------	Mariong	Mariaon
----------	Traulap	Tagaulap
Bäliau	Paleau	Paliau

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German Version, 1909	CIMA Version, 1947	Name on H.O. Chart
Raur	Raũr	Raur

Sarfert's version adds one detail not told to me: that the people of Ifalik, in moving from islet to islet on Woleai, first ate their unwilling hosts out of house and home, and did not close in for the kill until they had them weakened by starvation.

A final detail omitted in Sarfert's version is the list of clans (all of those now on Ifalik) represented in the later expedition that repopulated Woleai.

A third version was collected by Hambruch on Faraulep. It differs particularly in the beginning. The king of Ifalik, Mois, visits Woleai and there repeatedly rapes a woman while her husband is out fishing. This makes him the first agressor, and justifies the attack on him. He is beaten and left for dead. Toward morning he is revived, by rain. He takes a piece of timber from the bush and with it swims to Ifalik. The summons to war, with the incident of the penis pointing toward Woleai, agree with the version told to me. The ending follows, in my translation:

'Then the people made many spears, sailed to Woleai in countless canoes, and slew everyone, even the young girls.'

No mention is made of a son born to the Woleai woman. The list of islands, that of clans, and various other details, are omitted."

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"Lamotrek

A similar legend about Lamotrek was dictated by the chiefs and translated by Tom. Here I have retained a few bits of his peculiar English.

Long, long ago, the people of Lamotrek used to kill the Ifalik people whenever a canoe from Ifalik put in there. One Ifalik canoe that went there had aboard, besides the crew of Ifalik men, one Tungã, a being in the form of a man but not human. The Lamotrek people killed all the Ifalik men but did not fight with Tungã.

In Ifalik, when the canoe did not return from Lamotrek, the people wondered what had become of it. Maur, their chief, summoned all the people to the men's house, Katĕlŭ. He ordered a canoe to be fitted out to go look for the lost vessel.

'Who among us shall go?' asked the Ifalik men. [158]

Maur said: 'Suppose one man 'e savvy captain, all right, go'.

So a man named Wĕtiei, a very savvy captain, built him a canoe, got together a crew, and sailed to Lamotrek.

'Where is that canoe from Ifalik that sailed here?'

The Lamotrek people said 'Canoe from Ifalik no stop here. He go to Truk.' That was a lie.

Wĕtiei went on to Truk to look for the Ifalik canoe. The Lamotrek people, in an attempt to cover up their lie, sent Tungã on to Truk in a Lamotrek canoe. When the Ifalik canoe got to Truk, the Lamotrek canoe was lying offshore but had left some of its men on Truk.

The Ifalik canoe beached at Truk, and the men came ashore and asked 'What about that Ifalik canoe that came here?' The Lamotrek men said 'We don't know anything about it.' That was a lie.

One of the Ifalik men saw a Lamotrek man take some food and put out to sea with it. The Lamotrek men had left Tungā as a captive aboard their canoe. So the Ifalik man said he was going to bathe in the sea. Once in, he swam out to the Lamotrek canoe and called out 'Any Ifalik men aboard?'

Tungā called back 'Yes! Me!'

So the Ifalik man swam up close, and said 'Don't say anything to the others. Tomorrow night our Ifalik canoe will come over close to this one. You dive overboard and swim over to us.'

This was done next night as planned, so Tungā was once more aboard an Ifalik canoe.

They asked him what had become of the men from the canoe that took him from Ifalik to Lamotrek. He told them the truth, that the Lamotrek people had killed them all.

So Wĕtiei's canoe went back to Ifalik. There Tungā told Maur his story. So Maur knew that the Lamotrek people had killed his men in the first canoe.

Maur called all the people together at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them to make ready, for they were going to make war on Lamotrek. So the Ifalik men went to work and fashioned spears--one man 20, another man 30, another man 40--and put them in canoes. Then they set sail for Lamotrek.

They came first to Elato, but the Elato people, when they saw the Ifalik canoe coming, were afraid, got into their canoes, and fled to Lamotrek. So when the Ifalik canoe came ashore, there was nobody there. They stopped in Elato three days. ('Want to chow.') Then on to Lamotrek.

At Lamotrek one big island is inhabited, two small ones uninhabited. The Ifalik invaders landed on the two small islands. One day they attempted a landing on the main island, but were repulsed. Twice they tried, and twice they failed. The Lamotrek people were too strong.

A great warrior of Ifalik, named Mailias, had been visiting on Woleai at the time the Ifalik fleet set out for Lamotrek. He came back to find all the Ifalik canoes gone. [159]

'Where are all the men?' he asked.

He was told they had gone to avenge the death of the Ifalik canoemen at Lamotrek. So he got in his canoe and followed them. Arrived at Lamotrek, he asked for a report on the situation. He was told how things stood--that two landings had been attempted, but both had failed.

'Leave it to me', said Mailias. He told the men to gather bundles of dried banana leaf and put them in the canoes. They filled their canoes with leaves, then, in mid-afternoon, shoved off once more to assault the main island. It was mid-afternoon, and the wind was at their backs, from the west.

The Ifalik forces divided into two parties. One of them made the same kind of frontal attack as before. But when they came near shore, they set fire to their bundles of leaves. A great cloud of smoke arose. The wind carried it ashore, and blinded the Lamotrek warriors.

Under cover of this attack, the other party from Ifalik went around to the other side of the island, and landed there.

The Lamotrek men fought bravely against the party that had landed behind a smoke screen. But they were at such a disadvantage, with the smoke in their eyes, that they were driven back, and at last fled into the bush. Here the other Ifalik party was lying in wait. They fell upon the demoralized defenders and killed every last one of them; then went on into the houses, killing, killing, until not a man, woman or child was left alive in Lamotrek.

So the fleet returned to Ifalik, and repeated to Maur that Lamotrek had been depopulated, and the slaughter of the Ifalik canoemen avenged.

First the returning warriors were welcomed with a big feast. Then Maur assembled them at the men's house, Katēlū. He told them it would not be good for Lamotrek to remain without people. He ordered each clan to send one man and his sister. All these could take their families along if they cared to.

So Lamotrek was laid waste and then repopulated from Ifalik. Ever since, it has been as if Lamotrek and Ifalik were all one place. In Ifalik, Lamotrek people are just the same as Ifalik people. In Lamotrek, Ifalik people are given food without having to ask for it. They all belong to the same clans.

So that is the story of how 'Ifalik man, he kill Lamotrek man. Ifalik more high.'

A short song or remnant of a song commemorates this battle. For all its brevity, it is noteworthy as the only one among the 228 song texts collected which deals with legendary (as distinguished from mythical) material; and the only one which deals with war. Although this may be accidental, it seems to suggest the importance of this particular legend. The chiefs dictated the text, and Tom translated it. This translation, edited into smoother English, follows: [160]

Coming up from behind on the fugitives
As they fled from the lagoon shore,
We will close in from both sides
At the Pu-el-Ifalū.

Pu-el-Ifalū is said to be the name of a place in the interior of Lamotrek, where the two parties of Ifalik men closed in on the defenders of Lamotrek and finished them off. (It did not occur to me at the time to ask whether Pu-el-Ifalū would be in ordinary language Bwěl Ifalo̍k, Ifalik taro swamp.)

The German monograph on Lamotrek contains no legend like this--indeed, no legends at all, though it has several myths.

During my few hours on shore at Lamotrek I asked about this story, expecting a

1: Burrows--157-160 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 173, 539 Ifalik

denial or variant version. But they confirmed it. Although, lacking an interpreter, I did not manage to check all details, they agreed that Mailias was leader of the invading party, and added that he was of Kovalū clan."

1: Burrows--160
116, 171

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Satawal

As a sequel to the Lamotrek legend, Tom said 'Satawal all same.' In those early days, he explained, that island was uninhabited. Some of the Ifalik people who had settled on Lamotrek went on to Satawal and began the population of that atoll.

As already noted in the discussion of clans, the virtual identity in culture among the other islands named in these legends begins to diminish at Satawal. This was perceptible even in my few hours ashore there. The sound pronounced on Ifalik as a lingual trill, sometimes attacked by way of a stop like our 't', is replaced on Satawal by a sound identical, or nearly so, with our 'ch'. Thus 'Lamotrek' becomes 'Lamochek'; SauvelārIk, 'SauvelāckIk. Moreover, some of the clan names did not resemble those of Ifalik clans. The notes I took there were lost in reboarding the Navy government ship, and I cannot recall whether I asked the Satawal people about this story of first settlement. Probably not, as the difference in dialect made it more difficult to talk with them."

1: Burrows--160-162 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173 Ifalik 1-4

"Faraulep

Faraulep, too, was repopulated from Ifalik. In this case, though, according to the Ifalik legend, it was not necessary for Ifalik warriors to invade the island and massacre the inhabitants. They had attended to that themselves, and Ifalik men had only to kill a lone survivor.

There are two inhabited islands at Faraulep, and one uninhabited. At one time, there were no people left on the whole atoll. If asked why that was, a Faraulep man will say that men from another island came fighting, and killed the Faraulep people. That is a lie.

What really happened is this. One night a party from one of the inhabited islands at Faraulep went out to fish with torches. The men from the other island made a surprise attack upon them and killed them. They went back home thinking they had killed all the people of the other [161] island.

But one man remained, a man named Nagelimwara. He had hidden himself under a fishing net, and so escaped. When the invaders had gone, he came out again. There were no more people. So he took a small canoe and went out fishing. He found plenty of fish on top of a coral head that extended up into shallow water.

Then he went back to the island still inhabited, and told the chief he had better send out men to catch the plentiful fish he had found. He would show them the place. So all the men went out with him.

When they got to the place where the coral head stuck up into shallow water, they saw that the fish were indeed plentiful. Nagelimwara told them all to jump overboard to catch them. So everybody went overboard except himself. He had a short stick with him. Every head that showed above the surface he would hit with his stick. Thus he killed all the men from that island, except the chief, who had remained behind.

Then Nagelimwara took some fish, and went ashore. He called to the chief to come get his share. The chief came, and when he had taken some fish, Nagelimwara hit him with his stick and killed him. Then he went on into the houses and killed the women and the boys and the girls.

So it was the Faraulep people themselves who put an end to the population on that island. 'All Faraulep men 'e fight.'

In the course of time a canoe from Ifalik visited the island, and found that there were no more people there except the one man. The Ifalik men killed him. Then they went back to Ifalik to get some Ifalik people and put them on Faraulep, and repopulate the island, as they had done with the others. So they sent women and men from every clan. And ever since then, a Faraulep man has been all the same as an Ifalik man.

After finishing this tale, Tom raised his face and eyes skyward, to indicate an immense lapse of time, and said

'Be - fore, be - fore. Not now.'

After a few minutes, he repeated this, adding 'Ifalik man not kill 'im that Faraulep

1: Burrows--160-162 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 173 Ifalik

man.' There were two canoe-loads of men from Faraulep visiting on Ifalik at the time. Evidently Tom wanted to forestall any worry on my part about the Ifalik people killing them, by relegating all such unpleasantness to the remote past.

Warfare, indeed, seems to have gone out of mind to some extent since the German expedition of 1909. Sarfert collected barbed spears and clubs with points or little blades at both ends. We saw nothing of the kind.

Tom need not have troubled to deny in advance a supposed Faraulep version attributing the massacre of the earlier population there to invaders from afar (presumably from Ifalik). At least Hambruch collected on Faraulep in 1909 a story about depopulation by civil war and repopulation from Ifalik, in essentials like the one just given, but with a number of additional details. The man whose name I recorded as Nagelimwara (final 'a' silent) is there called Nargetumar. He lived on 'Pix', evidently the islet called 'Pigue' on our charts (apparently from a French version.) I heard it as 'Pik', and the Japanese call it 'Piiku'. [162]

Hambruch's version begins as follows: During a visit on the neighboring islet called (like the whole atoll) Faraulep, Nargetumar insulted the people, then on his return to 'Pix' warned the people there of an impending attack from Faraulep. The men of both islets made spears. Those of Pix were the first to attack, invading Faraulep while the men were out fishing; killing women and children first, then the men--except for a few as they came ashore from their fishing.

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116, 173 Ifalik

The next incident in Hambruch's Faraulep version is lacking from my Ifalik one. The survivors on Faraulep are said to have asked a visiting Yap man to help them against Pix. He agree, and by magic raised a typhoon, which indeed destroyed all but 20 people on Pix, but on Faraulep killed all but one. This one, named Uerlipar, killed the survivors on Faraulep by the ruse of offering them fish, as in the Ifalik version. Then he went to Woleai, married a woman there, and at last returned to Faraulep. By that time people from Ifalik had taken over Faraulep, so Uerlipar went back to Pix and stayed there."

1: Burrows--162 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 173 Ifalik

"Eaurupik

By these three legends, the people of Woleai, Lamotrek, and Faraulep were accounted for as descendents [sic] of colonizers from Ifalik. Of the islands nearest to Ifalik, there remained only Eaurupik. I asked Tom if there was a legend about that.

'Eaurupik too', he replied. 'All same size' (a favorite expression of his for 'just the same'.) Ifalik more high.' But no further details were forthcoming."

"Interpretation

What these legends do, obviously, is to affirm and reinforce the sentiment of rank. The fact that the natives feel this to be the main point of the stories is plain in Tom's triumphant conclusion to the one about Lamotrek. He repeated this phrase in saying that the same was true of Eaurupik. 'Ifalik more high.' This significance is emphasized again by the penis of Maur, carved on the front post of the men's house and constituting a climax to the symbolism of rank that clusters about the site Katēlū. The same emphasis appears once more in the exultant little song about Lamotrek.

This general effect of the legends works out more specifically in two functions, one of them social, the other psychological. The social function is to strengthen the institution of government by validating the principle of rank on which the Ifalik system of government is based. The psychological function is to meet the human want of prestige by giving everyone in Ifalik the satisfaction of feeling himself superior to the people of surrounding atolls. This craving for prestige is sharpened among the people of Ifalik by their traditional subordination to the chiefs of Gatschapar in Yap. The legends help them to work off the sting of this by superordination over somebody else.

Within this general framework, still more specific use is made of two of the legends, those telling of the conquest of Woleai and Lamotrek. These supply an origin and validation for the high status of the two chiefs at the top of the local hierarchy of rank. Mailias, [163] it is said, was the first to receive the title of Kovalū, or paramount chief,

1: Burrows--162-163 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 173 Ifalik

because of the military ability he showed in planning the attack on Lamotrek, with its smoke screen and ambush. Ever after, succession to the highest chieftainship has remained in his clan, which has taken its name, Kovaluˇ, from his title. Similarly, Maur became second-ranking chief because he instigated the successful attack on Woleai.

In general, Maur is a more prominent traditional figure than Mailias. He is celebrated, not only in the Woleai legend, but in the carving on the front post of the men's house, and in another tale or myth which ascribes to him the invention of the torch and dip-net technique of catching flying-fish (p. 83J-K). In the stories collected by Sarfert, Maur was even named as the first settler of the island. In spite of Maur's prominence, the title descending from Mailias outranks that descending from Maur. Tom explained why. Mailias won glory as a warrior, Maur as an orator, and prowess in war is greater than prowess in talk."

"Eastern Influence

The only story attributing important influence on Ifalik to an island farther east is that about the lore of seamanship (p. 67). The point of origin named in this myth* is Bwennap, said to be in sight from Puluwat. A version of this story is given in the German monograph on Woleai (Kramer, p. 285). The locality there is Polap, evidently what our charts call Pulap, ehich, judging by the charts, would indeed be barely in sight from Puluwat. And a footnote adds that on Lamotrek, Polap is called Bon'nap. This seems to locate the traditional origin of the lore of seamanship. Locating a mythical island may not be worth all that troublt; but ascription of the lore of seamanship to an island farther east does seem significant.

Names of two varieties of bananas ascribe to them an eastern origin; *wIrIs Truk*, Truk banana, and *wIrIs Valupē*. *Valupē* is said to be Ponape. The prized red paint made from turmeric root is said to have reached Ifalik in the old days by trade with either Yap or Truk. Tom used to translate the native name for it, *rang*, either as 'Yap paint' or 'Truk paint'. Texts of several love songs specifically mention Truk as

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"* The story about the lore of seamanship is called a myth rather than a legend because of its supernatural character and its function of explaining the origin of an institution.

the source of this paint or of other finery: a loin-cloth, a comb. Other islands to the east are also mentioned in songs; among them Namoin (Nomoi).

From all accounts, native and foreign, the language spoken on Ifalik and neighboring atolls resembles that of islands to the east, at least as far as Truk, more than it resembles the language of Yap. If this is substantiated by adequate linguistic comparison, it will indicate relationship between Ifalik and islands to the east much more fundamental than the bits of diffusion suggested by the details just given.

What this eastern influence amounts to--its relative strength and age as compared with influence from Yap--could only be determined by a thorough cultural comparison beyond the scope of this local monograph."

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik

"Spiro came upon one bit of Christian tradition when questioning Gargeligar, who might be called a native priest, about sickness and healing. Gargeligar said that at one time there was no sickness. When asked further, he gave a fairly full version of the story of Adam and Eve, applied to ancestors of the Ifalik people,--whether on Ifalik or not, he was not certain. The account of an original state of blissful ignorance, replaced by suffering as punishment for eating forbidden fruit, seemed little changed. Indeed, it fits readily into the native ideology, with its concept of punishment for violation of a taboo. The serpent was omitted from the first version, but remembered overnight. Gargeligar said he learned the story from his grandmother, which makes a Spanish source more likely than any other."

1: Burrows--164 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177, 212, 797 Ifalik

"The name 'Yfaluc' appears in a list of names of islands collected by the Spanish Jesuit priest Paul Clain from 1678 to 1696; but the Spanish, though they were settled on Guam in the 17th century, and had some claim to all this part of the Pacific, never visited Ifalik, so far as available evidence shows. During the 19th century they sent missionaries to most of the islands round about, but for some reason omitted this one. The people of Ifalik know about these batre (padre), and how they opposed the native religion. In 1947 some visitors from Woleai rather pointedly stayed away from a native religious ceremony held on Ifalik during their stay. This was understood as the effect of a missionary's work on Woleai long ago, and caused no comment.

Traces of Spanish or missionary influence on Ifalik are few. Perhaps the most important is the system of writing known to some of the natives. It came to Ifalik from Woleai, where it was taught by a missionary. Maroligar knew enough of it to keep a note-book in which he had written some song texts. The letters were obviously derived from our alphabet. I did not attempt to learn or analyze this writing. It seemed to be adequate for recording the text of a song, but was known only to a few, and very little used even by them."

1: Burrows--164-165 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik 7-2

"Islands more or less closely resembling Ifalik in name and position appear on several charts of the early 18th century. These charts were drawn partly on the basis of names and sailing directions obtained from native informants. The first European vessel to sight the island appears to have been the missionary ship 'Duff', Captain James Wilson, which reached there on the 27th of October, 1797. The 'Duff' did some trading with the natives, but Wilson's account of the voyage has nothing further to say about them.

Some whalers and perhaps other foreign ships called at Ifalik between the visit of Wilson and the next one on record, that of Captain Frédérick Lutké. He called at the 'Wilson Islands' on April 3d, 1828, and noted the native name, 'Ifalouc'.

Lutké noted that the natives differed from all other Caroline Islanders he had seen in their 'boisterous spirit' (humeur criarde). Two of them went overboard with loose pieces of ironware. Others tried to detach pieces that were fastened. Lutké recovered the stolen pieces by notifying the chief, who was aboard, that he would not be allowed to leave the ship until the iron was returned. Von Kittlitz, who called about a generation later, was told by whalers that the natives of this island demanded exhorbitant prices for their wares. At least one other visit is recorded during the 19th century, that of the English trader [165] Cheyne, and presumably there were several that never got into print. My informants recalled that an American named Keefe used to put in at Ifalik before the German times. He was in partnership, they said, with another American

1: Burrows--164-165 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 177 Ifalik

named Louis or Luis, who kept a trading post on Lamotrek. A daughter of his, supposed to be enormously rich, was said to be still living on Woleai. Keefe is pretty surely D. D. O'Keefe, celebrated for importing stone money to Yap from the Palaus. (He claimed American citizenship.)"

1: Burrows--165 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"For short periods during the latter part of the 19th century and the first years of the 20th, foreign traders lived on Ifalik. Damm mentions a white trader whom the natives called 'Sau'. He was there while Olaitiu was paramount chief, but left before the typhoon of 1907, when Olaitiu was lost at sea. During the typhoon, Damm reports, there were three Japanese on the island; but they left immediately after. However, these traders can not have had very much to sell. The best proof is that when the German expedition visited the island in 1909, all the adzes in use were of shell, though some of the drills had iron points.

A decided change came after the Germans, who took over the whole area at the turn of the century, brought in more transportation. They developed a fairly regular trade in copra. They also took natives as laborers on copra plantations as far away as Samoa, and as phosphate diggers, not only on nearby Fais but, if my information is correct, on Angaur.

German methods of labor recruiting are described in the following excerpts from a native song:

They come to the men's house
Where the people are assembled,
And seize men to take them away.

They came in the afternoon

And hunted men by night.
Nobody could sleep for fear of them.

In front of the men's house
The Germans line up the Caroline men.
They are pleased to see so many--
They have captured ten,
Strong men all.

'Come along! Get into the raft!'
They feel the arms of the captives,
And chuckle with glee
To find them so strong.
The first mate takes them aboard.

German influence, though decidedly stronger than any that had preceded it, still left few traces by 1947. Tom used to say 'deutsch' for German, and had a memory of Germans as men with very white skins and knotty muscles. Perhaps the greatest change was in wider knowledge of the outside world, and in replacing the 'boisterous spirit' of Lutke's day by a more submissive one."

1: Burrows--166 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik

"Damm's mention of three Japanese on Ifalik in 1907 has already been noted. My informants told a somewhat different story. They remembered only one Japanese, a little old man married to a woman from Woleai. Tom told me, after consulting others, that this Japanese lived on Ifalik for 10 years; but since they do not keep track of years, this means only that he was there for a considerable time. During the typhoon of 1907, he had to swim for his life, but with native help, succeeded in getting to higher ground. He worked for the Germans--presumably the Jaluit Company, which is said to have maintained a station on Ifalik.

The Japanese took over the islands in 1914. After World War I, when the area was mandated to them by the League of Nations, they resumed the copra trade. They had a trading store in Rauau district, but kept it closed except when their ship was in port. The most conspicuous effect of their regime on native life is in cooking. The native earth oven is now used only for cooking the meat of fairly large animals: pig, turtle, and such large fish as bonito and tuna. As these are not part of everyday diet it may be said that the earth oven is used only for festive occasions. Ordinarily household cooking is done mostly in Japanese iron pots or mess-kits, many of them fitted with tight covers for cooking rice.

A few other Japanese articles are in fairly general use: small fish nets of cotton cord, fish-hooks, tools, cloth, and dyes for cloth of native weave. A little shrine in the men's house has a Shinto look, though used for divination of a native sort."

1: Burrows--166 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 159, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The Japanese gave the people some medical service when their ships were in port, and put some boys from Ifalik to school in Yap. Talimeira, a decidedly intelligent boy assigned by the chiefs to work for us, had spent several years at this Japanese school. He seemed able to speak and read Japanese fairly well, as far as we could judge. Certainly he picked up English amazingly fast while we were there. As to his attitude toward the Japanese, he was non-committal. Probably he got along well with them, as he would with anybody. But he had had enough of school. Asked whether he would like to go to an American school and learn to be a doctor, he smilingly but firmly declined. He wanted to spend the rest of his life in Ifalik, though he had no prospect of a chiefly title or other preferment. Thinking the matter over, we wondered whether this might not be one more proof of his superior intelligence."

1: Burrows--166-167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 466, 609, 177 Ifalik

"Tom and other older men told us several stories of the domineering behavior of the Japanese. Though celebrated for courtesy among themselves, they evidently had none of it to spare for their Micronesian wards. This was particularly disagreeable to the people of Ifalik, because of the high value they place on courtesy or, as Tom called it, 'fine talk'. These stories were no doubt intended partly to flatter us. It might be supposed that, since the Japanese were recent enemies of our country, we would be pleased to hear an unfavorable account of them. Yet we saw no reason to suspect the natives of lying.

'You sit right down on the mats beside us to talk with us', they said. 'The Japanese used to pile one box on top of another. Then one of them would get up on the highest box and talk to us. Very bad talk.'

More specific was their account of the Japanese method of recruiting labor, which had advantages over the German method from the point of view of the recruiters, but not from that of the islanders. According to this [167] account, when the Japanese wanted men--which they did mostly for phosphate mining on Angaur--they would come ashore, seize the chiefs, and then make known the number of laborers they wanted. If these were not quickly forthcoming, they would beat the chiefs."

1: Burrows--167 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"The first American contact during World War II was unfortunate. The Japanese had a landing strip on Woleai, 30 miles away. During the period when the Americans, without attempting to land in the Carolines, were neutralizing Japanese bases there and leaving their garrisons to 'wither on the vine', while Americans by-passed on both sides, Woleai was bombed often enough to keep the air-strip out of use most of the time. Americans flew now and then over Ifalik; and one of them sprayed the atoll--or at least Rauau district--with a machine-gun. I believe the native account of this because they said they could hear the bullets cutting through the leaves, a detail they would not be likely to invent. No damage was done. The chief WolpaitIk was in the lagoon, tending a fish-trap. The natives now make a funny story of his frantic scramble ashore. Yet they were sufficiently afraid of American planes so that when the first of several passed over at night during our stay, and flashed a spot-light on Falālap, they were rather panicky, and we were suspected of getting information to be used for their destruction, and of communicating with the plane with a flash-light. (I had gone out on a stone pier to watch it pass, and called to Spiro, who was in the lighted tent; but I had no flash-light.) We assured them that American planes, the only ones in the area, would do them no harm; and after they found that the first one had passed over peaceably, they were little disturbed by the others.

This machine-gunning may have been a mistake, for the aerial photograph of Ifalik used to illustrate this report was labelled 'Woleai'. Or it may have been intended to

1: Burrows--167 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 177 Ifalik

intimidate any Japanese or supporters of theirs who happened to be on Ifalik. Or, finally, it may have been a case of trigger-happiness. In any case, the terror it inspired seems not to be insuperable."

1: Burrows--167-168 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 787, 609, 177 Ifalik 1-3

"The last stanza or section of the long religious invocation said to have been sung by the god TIlItr, when he took possession of the body of his native oracle Gargeligar, predicts an American victory over Japan. Both Gargeligar himself, who was the mouthpiece of the god, and Tom--ordinarily inclined to make light of Gargeligar's pretensions--assured me that this prophecy was uttered long before American planes reached that part of the Pacific. I wondered if the name of the victors might have been changed in the process, and even asked about it; but of course it was consistently denied. This part of the song, as worked up from Tom's translation, follows:

The war will soon be over.
The end of the fighting is near.
Soon the Americans will come.
All you women and children who offered me flowers,
Fear no more!

A passage so similar as to seem referable to the same revelation appears in a prayer or invocation to cure illness of the head, which was given by Gargeligar to Spiro. Gargeligar said it was given to him [168] by the god TIlItr, who in turn got it from his grandfather, omniscient Aluelap. Tom's translation, as edited by Spiro, follows:

Japan will succumb to America.
I will aid the god of America, I will end the war,
The war of men in combat.

For the Caroline people fear the war,
Greatly fear the war.
The girls and boys who make flowers for the gods
Fear the war.

Two other, less important mentions of America occur in the texts of love-songs. In one, the infatuated woman sings 'I am caught fast, as with an American fish-hook.' I asked Tom about the age of this song. He said it was written long ago, but that the people knew of the excellence of American fish-hooks even then. Since the trader Keefe called himself American, this may be true.

The other mention was in a song written about the chief Maroligar, during his youth, by the woman who is now his wife. The lines were:

Fe la gili ameriki
Naro pia fili ma jem(u.

Tom translated it: 'You are like an American flag in my heart.' This time, particularly, I suspected that Maroligar might have changed 'Japanese' to 'American' in dictating the song; in baseball talk, might have pitched Tom a fast one, too hot for him to handle. For Tom, in translating, seemed a bit confused; and in his first muttering, said something about 'Spanish man', which was his way of saying 'Japanese'. (He had the two peoples distinct in his mind, but confused the English words for them.) I attempted to corner him with questions; but, even if my suspicions were right, he and

1: Burrows--167-168 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 787, 609, 177 Ifalik

Maroligar were on their guard now. However that may be, I could not shake their story. Because of the importance of kindly talk, I did not think it worth while to press the matter. After all, even if the name was changed, that very fact shows that they are anxious to please."

1: Burrows--168-169 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 609, 177 Ifalik

"The substitution of an American flag for a Japanese flag at the top of the OngarIk, or front post of the men's house, has been mentioned in discussing symbols of rank. Maroligar took his time about making the change. The suggestion was made--at least to Tom, to report to the chiefs--on September 4. It was not until November 23 that Maroligar began chipping off the Japanese flag. Still, I never knew the natives to hurry unless there was desperate reason to, as when a thatched roof caught fire, or a school of bonito was sighted in the lagoon. And this time there was no particular need to hurry.

Once, early in the course of our stay, WolpaitIk said to the other chiefs 'We'd better do whatever these Americans want us to. Otherwise--nomore chiefs.' WolpaitIk, it seemed to me, covered a very sensitive nature with a bluff front. He was given to bluff statements, which might be taken seriously or jokingly. Undoubtedly there is some fear in their attitude toward Americans. What they have heard of the bombardments of Woleai and Yap--some of their young men were in Yap at the time, and they probably had eyewitnesses on Woleai, too--gave them a great impression of American power. But they usually spoke of it--to us, at [169] least--with admiration rather than fear. Even in talking of the machine-gunning on Ifalik, they tended to make a joke of it.

But our best evidence of their attitude toward Americans is their treatment of us. Their kindliness, helpfulness and solicitude have been evident throughout this report. And we are convinced that fear had very little to do with it. While they could be

1: Burrows--168-169 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 609, 177 Ifalik

intimidated, there seems to be no need of that. Kindly treatment is both easier and more profitable, for they repay it in full."

1: Burrows--170-171 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 771, 798 Ifalik 1-4

"Religion, for the purpose of the following description, will be defined broadly and loosely, as any belief or activity that involves the supernatural. The supernatural, in turn, will be defined as an order of phenomena different from the common run and involving power of a mysterious kind, greater than everyday, well understood kinds of power.

Here and there in the foregoing pages there has already been mention of beliefs and acts that fall within this definition. They could not very well be saved up for a separate chapter, for the people of Ifalik are not inclined, as we are, to seal off religion from the rest of life. Their religion has been particularly evident in the accounts of fishing and navigation, activities which involve risk of failure and consequent disaster. Religion pervades everything they do.

For all the pervasiveness of their religion, the people of Ifalik make a clear distinction between natural and supernatural, or secular and sacred realms. As we shall see, the supernatural has its own personnel and its own geography. The distinction was consistently emphasized by Tom though he did not always draw the boundaries just where we might have done. Whenever anything came up that he regarded as religion, he would label it, 'talk for god.' Except in connection with canoe-building and navigation, he did not profess to understand much about it, and would nearly always consult the chiefs before giving any information. This seems to have been partly due to a special caution about revealing the sacred lore - another sign of a distinction between that and other information. The people of Ifalik know that on all the islands round about, white men have attacked and, to a greater or less extent, destroyed the native religion. Because they still cherish their old faith, and get reassurance from it where they most need reassurance, they were naturally reluctant to expose it to attack by us or other foreigners.

Early in our stay, I made the mistake of failing to observe this distinction. Because the people seemed so frank and helpful, I decided to begin at the beginning in collecting tales, and asked about the creation. I got nowhere with my questions. They told me that all such matters had been forgotten. They, or rather their fathers, had made the same excuse to Sarfert thirty-eight years before; yet he had obtained some information. I gave them bits of this, following the newspaper man's technique of showing that something is already known, and thus suggesting that they might as well be frank. The chiefs did not remember Sarfert's brief visit, and were rather irritated and suspicious. They wanted to see the German book. But I had no copy, only brief notes I had taken, and fuller excerpts translated by Spiro. They admitted they knew the names of the gods he had recorded, but insisted they knew nothing more about them. At last it dawned on me that it was too early to try for that kind of information, and I asked for other kinds of stories, much to the relief of all concerned.

After the two-day ritual to be described later, I returned to the attack. At that time I was spending half of every day taking song texts; and it seemed appropriate to ask for the songs that formed part of the ritual. The chiefs began to give them, but - if I am

1: Burrows--170-171 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 771, 798 Ifalik

right about what happened - word of this reached Gargeligar, who may be called the native priest, and he objected. At least he spoke with the chiefs, whereupon the word issued 'No more songs.' Without questioning their decision, I made a little speech to them, which was translated by Tom. I thanked them for the songs already given, which would be most valuable; and regretted I could not have more. I added that I approved of what little I had seen of their religion and that, as far as Spiro and I were concerned, we would not try to change it, nor recommend any change to other Americans. [171] Fortunately for the purpose, I meant every word of it. It seemed to make the desired impression, for in a few days the flow of song texts was resumed, and eventually even the other religious ones were forthcoming - with only one exception that I know of. Meanwhile Spiro got around to interviewing Gargeligar. Partly in consultation with the chiefs, he obtained a number of the myths which, when I first inquired, had been ostensibly forgotten.

This chapter is intended to give a more comprehensive and systematic description of the religion than could be derived from the bits that come out in describing other activities. It will begin with what is available about beliefs; then will examine religious behavior. The account is by no means exhaustive. The tales Spiro collected, except for bits that seem essential to this account, will be left to him. Some of the interpretation, of a phychological sort, also belongs to his special problem. For that matter,

1: Burrows--170-171 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 771, 798 Ifalik

it is likely that a number of points, some of which may be quite important, have escaped us both."

4

1: Burrows--171 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 773 Ifalik 12

"The same professions of ignorance which stopped my early inquiries were repeated, so far as the creation is concerned, when Spiro investigated this subject later on. 'We do not know how the world began,' they told him, 'but in Yap they know.' While it is possible that they were still concealing something from him, I am inclined to think that by this time they were telling everything, or nearly everything, that he asked for. If that is so, they know of the existence, but do not know of the contents, of the elaborate Yap creation myth, one version of which was recorded by Müller. Another was collected by Lieutenant Kevin Carroll of the U.S. Naval government, but so far as known has not yet been published.

Fragments of another creation myth, which accounts for the parentage of some of the gods of Ifalik, were collected on Lamotrek by Doctor Augustin Kraemer of the Hamburg expedition. According to this, the mother of all living beings was a great reef called Oledjapdjap (probably Wolraprap in my orthography). The reef gave birth to a primal couple, Iat and Iol. (Iat as an ordinary word means 'up' or 'above.' This suggests that Iol may mean 'down' or 'below.' The usual form for that is Ilalo, with the final vowel commonly silent.) Iat and Iol were the parents of three great gods: Saulal, lord of the underworld (thought of mainly as under the sea); Sauaur, lord of Aur, the land whence breadfruit came; and Aluelap, lord of all. A footnote to Kraemer's monograph (p. 143) says that this account was also found on Elato, and adds: 'Siehe auch Ifaluk, wo Ham. arbeitete (See also Ifalik, where Ham. worked). 'Ham.' is probably Paul Hambruch, one of the ethnographers of the German expedition. But I find no mention in the Ifalik monograph of his ever having worked there. However, if the course of events dimly suggested by some other data really took place - that is, if the early culture of Ifalik was partly overlaid by relatively recent dominance of Yap - it seems not unlikely that some such creation myth may once have been believed on Ifalik, but later discarded out of deference to the overlords from Yap. Certainly their dominance is partly, perhaps primarily, religious."

1: Burrows--171-172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 773 Ifalik

"The chiefs admitted, even in response to my unwelcome early questions, that they knew of the existence of two of the divinities mentioned in this Lamotrek myth: Saulal and Aluelap. If *Sau* means 'lord,' (as it does in some western Polynesian islands), then 'Saulal' would be 'lord of the underworld,' for the depths of the sea are called *ilalo* (below). 'Sauaur' would then mean 'lord of the south,' for 'south' is *i auru* (final vowel generally silent). In song texts *i auru* frequently means 'the southern sky.' The name of the other divinity, Aluelap, means 'great spirit.'

The German monograph on Ifalik gives still another fragmentary account of [172] creation: 'Solal created heaven and earth by taking a grain of sand in his hand and, while reciting a spell, rolling it from one hand to the other.' "

"The mystery which seems to cover the creation in the minds of the present inhabitants of Ifalik does not extend to the supernatural beings and places which, according to their belief, still exist. The general name for a supernatural being is alu̍s. They are classified in several ways. According to where they live, they include alu̍s lāng or alu̍s i lang, who live in the sky; alu̍s tat or alu̍s i tat, who live in the sea; alu̍s salop or alu̍s i salop, who live on land; and alu̍s liol, or alu̍s i li wol, who live in the trees. According to their behavior toward men, they are classed as alu̍s mwan, good or beneficent gods, and alu̍s ngau, bad or maleficent gods. There is some correlation between habitat and character of the gods; that is to say, gods of the sea are generally bad, and are among the most dreaded of all. Gods of the trees are also generally maleficent, but the harm they do (the commonest kind, that of inflicting disease) is in punishment for what we would call asocial conduct - disobeying the chiefs or lingering in the woods to shirk communal labor. Gods of the sky may be either good or bad, but among the sky-dwellers are the great beneficent gods.

Gods are of either sex. Gargeligar told Spiro that female gods are worse than male ones. Most of the important beneficent ones, including all the gods of navigation, are male."

l; Burrows--172 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 769 Ifalik

"Ghosts of the dead (ngolu) constitute a special class of alús. They are among the most prominent in native belief and, though some are benevolent, among the most feared. Whether they are good or evil depends upon their character while in the flesh. A good (kindly) human being will become a good alús, while an evil (malicious) human being, even one who dies in childhood, will be an evil ghost. They are thought to linger about the places they inhabited before death, and to retain something of their former appearance. In general, ghosts of the recent dead seem to be most prominent in the native mind. Ghosts when seen - which happens not infrequently - are often recognized.

Ancestral ghosts whose lifetime may have been in the remote past are also influential. They are associated with homesteads inhabited by their descendants in the female line. Every homestead, as a rule, has one or more such ancestral ghosts. They are commonly helpful to their descendants, yet may do the kind of damage most frequently attributed to supernatural beings, that of inflicting disease. The sickness that took the life of the chief Paliuilimar while we were on the island was attributed to an alús associated with his ancestral homestead. Its particularly deadly character may have been due, though, to a strain other than ancestral; for Gargeligar said after his diagnosis that this was 'partly a sea-spirit'."

1: Burrows--173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775, 823 Ifalik

"Tom said that the gods of navigation live in a part of the sky reserved for them, but did not give it a name. Since Virár is one of these gods, it might be inferred that this place is Ururi̩o (Ruialo), named as his home. Yet the myths about seamanship are set largely in Bwe̍nnap, which seems identifiable with the earthly island Pulap (p. 163). Longolap and LongorIk travelled from there to Pie li Eluluei (Sands of Aluluei). Pie li Eluluei resembles Bwe̍nnap (but not Pulap) in having only sand and one tree above ground, but a large and populous place below, abounding in all food-producing plants. Sarfert-Damm name another residence of Aluluei - the island Piemal, three months' journey by canoe to the south of Ifalik.

Naturally, the gods of navigation were accomplished travelers. Aluluei went from Bwe̍nnap to the strangely similar Pie li Eluluei by magic. Valur and his brother Wëriëng went by canoe from Bwe̍nnap to Truk; and Valur, after he changed his name to Sagol, visited Ifalik and all the islands about. Since the canoes of these gods roam the skies as well as the seas, there is no great difficulty in supposing that they could take off from one medium to the other, like a sea-plane. Nevertheless, the information at hand does not enable us to plot the celestial islands on a chart."

1: Burrows-173A (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 173 Ifalik
⟶

"Fig. 22. - GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT GODS

Names in parentheses and relationships shown by dotted lines were not recorded in 1947-8, but only by the German expedition of 1909. Capitalized names were recorded by both German and American expeditions. Names without parentheses or capitalization were recorded only by the American ethnographers in 1947-8. Names of female beings are underlined.

1: Burrows--172-173 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 775 Ifalik 1-3

"Another account of life after death seems inconsistent with this one of ghosts haunting the places they frequented in their former life. It is said that the soul of every human being, after death, sets out for the sky, along a road for ghosts. The people of Ifalik do not name a series of earthly points along this road, as those of some Pacific islands do. Names of two dangerous places along the road were mentioned in a song, and there may be more. One is Rourou, a lake of fresh water into which evil spirits throw the new ghosts, if they catch them. Those cast into Rourou are never heard of again. Others are similarly disposed of in Piseram, a dismal place a good deal like a taro swamp. The main hope of escape is in guidance or rescue by more experienced friendly ghosts, who on earth were relatives of the newly dead. Even when a ghost succeeds in reaching the sky, he may not be happy there. All depends on whether he falls in with friendly or malicious companions. [173]

The celestial geography is elusive and shifty. The region most clearly mentioned is the southern sky, but there is some mention also of the northern sky and the zenith. Islands are scattered up there as on earth, among sea spaces, which are traversed by the canoes of the gods. Two such islands are named in the myth of Galét: Ŭlimatau (also recorded as Ŭlimatol), home of Galét and his associates; and Ururio or Ruialo, home of Virár, who made off with Galét's wife and took her there. The home of TIlItr is said to be in Lengilialo or Langiliol. (The names of these sky-islands seem to shift about as much as their location.)"

1: Burrows--173A (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

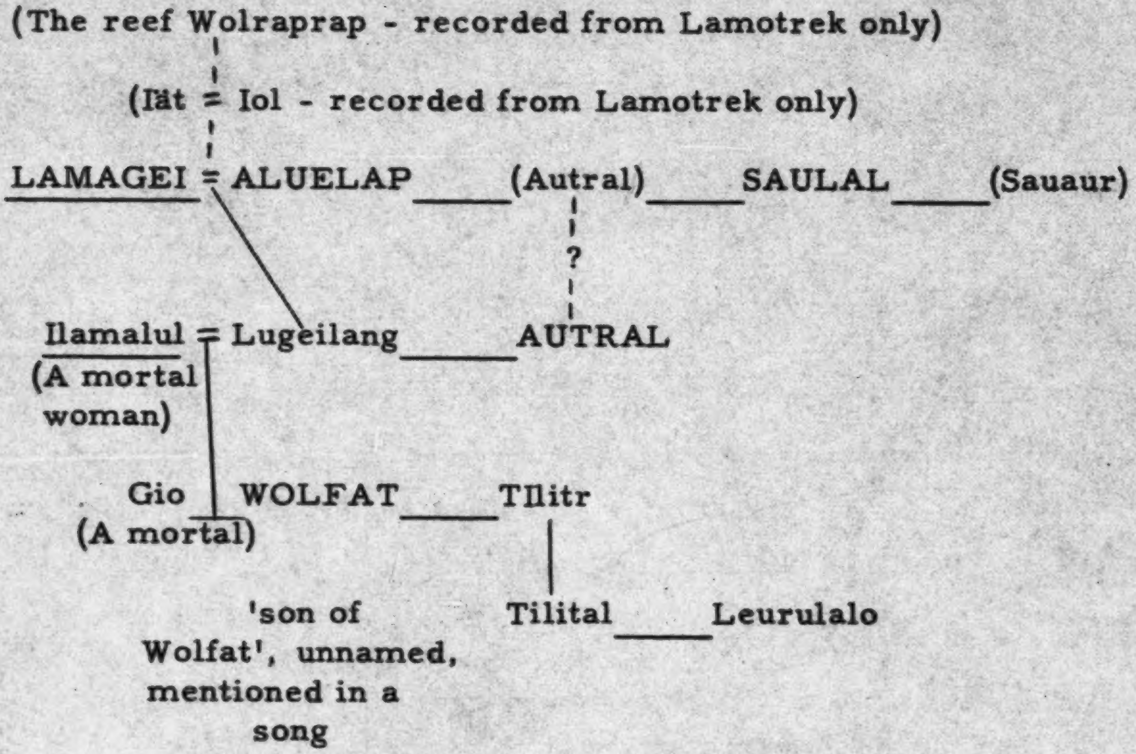
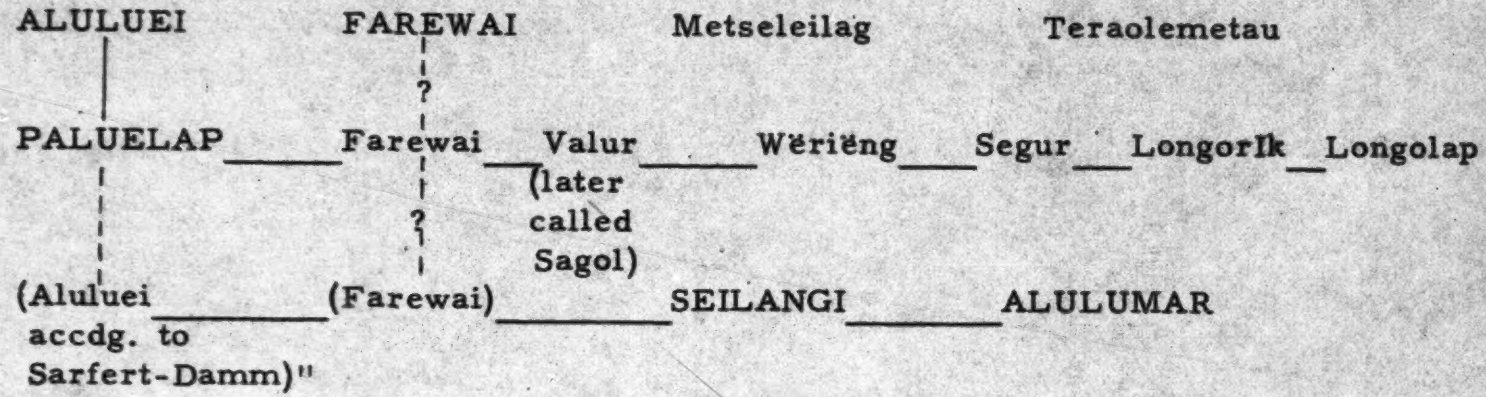

(The reef Wolraprap - recorded from Lamotrek only)
(Iät = Iol - recorded from Lamotrek only)
LAMAGEI = ALUELAP
(Autral)
SAULAL
(Sauaur)
?
Ilamalul = Lugeilang
(A mortal woman)
AUTRAL
Gio
(A mortal)
WOLFAT
Tllitr
'son of Wolfat', unnamed, mentioned in a song
Tilital
Leurulalo

Fig. 23. - GENEALOGY OF THE GODS OF NAVIGATION

Parentheses and capitals are used as in Fig. 22. No names are underlined, as there are no females in this genealogy.


ALULUEI
FAREWAI
Metseleilag
Teraolemetau
?
PALUELAP
Farewai
Valur (later called Sagol)
Wĕriĕng
Segur
Longorik
Longolap
?
(Aluluei accdg. to Sarfert-Damm)"
(Farewai)
SEILANGI
ALULUMAR

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 776, 173 Ifalik 1-14

"A list of the supernatural beings whose names were collected, with a summary of what is known about them, follows:

Major Gods

Aluelap - Forefather of the major gods. Human in form, but of immense size. Lives usually in his house Fatremal, in the southern sky (Sarfert-Damm say in the zenith). Has another house, Langilimware, in the northern sky. A third house of his, Mwauliare, is mentioned in a dance-song said to have come from Eaurupik. On Ifalik, the homestead Weluara on Falālap is said to be his (though also used as a human dwelling); and one of the four rods in the shrine at one end of the house is the place where offerings are left for him.

Aluelap established the tabus, except those governing sexual conduct (see Autran, below). Though he alone is omniscient, he sleeps most of the time. Formerly his eyes were always closed. His daughter-in-law Lamanu used to massage his arms and bathe him.

One day he asked her, 'Who are you?'

'Lamanu.'

'Alas, I can not see you!'

Aluelap was determined to see. He called to his son, Lugeilang, 'Come, open my eyes, that I may see your wife, and the land, and the people!'

Lugeilang told the people what his father wished.

They cut down a coconut tree and, using the log for a lever, pried [174] Aluelap's eyelids apart. Still he could not see, for all sorts of foreign objects had lodged in his eyes. At last a man took a paddle and knocked them all out.

Aluelap was overjoyed. 'Oh, I see land! I see people! '

When Aluelap had gazed his fill, he went to sleep again. To this day, he sleeps most of the time. Yet, being omniscient he knows when any evil spirit comes ashore on Ifalik. Then he sends a lesser god, one of his descendants, to drive the demon away. Sarfert was told that Lugeilang was sent on these errands. The people of Ifalik today say it is Lugeilang's son TIlItr, with TIlItr's son TIlItal.

Aluelap is also awakened when any question comes up that none of the other gods can answer. His son pries his lids open and asks the question. He answers it, then falls asleep again.

Lamagei - Wife of Aluelap. No further details.

Saulal - lord of the underworld. According to the creation myth recorded by the Germans on Lamotrek, a son of Iat and Iol, hence a brother of Aluelap. According to Sarfert-Damm on Ifalik, has no parents or other relatives, but was the creator of the universe. His body, according to the same source, is half man, half lawud (some sea creature; Tom's attempt at explanation suggested a surgeon-fish). Inhabits a large house in the underworld called *Falisat.* All that was told me on Ifalik is that he rules the underworld and the supernatural beings that live there.

Autran - a goddess; according to Sarfert-Damm, sister of Aluelap; according to the geneology given by Tom, a daughter of Aluelap. (The Sarfert-Damm version may well be more authentic, as the chiefs of 1947 seemed to know little about her.) Sarfert's informants of 1909 said that she was the ruler of earth and, though never married, the mother of all mankind. According to the same source, her house, named Lamolu, is in Garpar (Gatschapar) in Yap; and the chiefs of Garpar, in collecting tribute on Yap, are acting as her agents.

Autran established the tabu against sexual relations within the clan.

Lugeilang (or *Lugweilang*) - Son of Aluelap and Lemagei. When he was born, Aluelap assembled all the sky-dwellers to suggest names for his son.

A large star, Visitrax (apparently our Venus) said 'Let him be called Dung!'

'What!' cried Aluelap indignantly. 'My son called Dung!'

Other names were suggested by the *felā* fish and by the crab, but they did not please Aluelap.

Finally the star *Mailap* suggested the name Lugeilang.

'What does that mean?' asked Aluelap.

'It means 'He who lives in the sky' , the star replied.

Aluelap was greatly pleased. 'Yes,' he said. 'Let that be his [175] name.'

As a punishment for suggesting a name that means filth, it was ordained that the star Visitrax should have no fixed abode. Always it must travel. During one season it lives in the east, during the other in the west. Thus, in the trade-wind season, when Visitrax shines in the east, people have light after sunset to defecate by.

Lugeilang descended to earth and married a mortal woman. She bore him first a mortal son, Gio; then the god, Wolfat. He still descends to earth from time to time, Sarfert was told, to supervise men and their activities. If they are idle, he reports to Aluelap, who sends wind and rain, and to Saulal, who stirs up the sea into great waves. Typhoons, therefore, are punishment for men's laziness; and their severity is in proportion to the misbehavior.

Lugeilang is credited by Sarfert-Damm with teaching mankind the art of tattooing. For the account given in 1947, see below under Wolfat.

(Lamanu or Ilaamalul - human wife of Lugeilang, does not properly belong in the list of gods. What was told of her and her mortal son, Gio, appears under Aluelap, Lugeilang, and Wolfat.)

Wolfat - Second son of Lugeilang and his human wife, Lamanu. According to Sarfert-

Damm, he was born on earth while his father, summoned by Aluelap to help repair the house Fatremal, was revisiting the sky. To judge by the number of tales told of him, Wolfat is the most prominent figure in the mythology of Ifalik. Sarfert collected several of these tales, and in 1947 Spiro collected similar versions of these and some others, forming a little cycle of ten apparently distinct tales. Wolfat also figures in the favorite myth of Galét, of which three versions were collected, and in the story told in 1947 of the origin of tattooing.

Lugeilang and Lamanu feared that if Wolfat knew he had a human elder brother, he would kill him. So they concealed Gio in the underseas world of Saulal. One of the stories tells how Wolfat learned of his brother's existence, waylaid him and killed him. One of the motifs that recurs in the tales is that Wolfat himself can not be killed, even with a gun.

In several tales Wolfat's role is that of a trickster. He delights in taking on all sorts of fantastic forms, in order to deceive those sent to look for him. In other tales, which verge on fables because a moral is implied in them, Wolfat takes the form of a small boy and asks groups of boys whom he meets to share their playthings with him. All but one refuse. He punishes all but the single generous one. This incident forms a theme with variations, the variations consisting mainly in different playthings and different punishments. The moral suggested is 'Be kind and generous to strangers'; but it is not explicitly stated.

In a tale told to me, Wolfat is credited with inventing tattooing, and teaching the art to mortals. He first tattooed himself in the sky, then came down to earth to visit a mortal sweetheart. By the light of the fire in her house, other women saw the beautiful decoration, and asked Wolfat's sweetheart to persuade him to teach their lovers how to beautify themselves in this way. This myth, which will be given more fully in the study of native arts, forms a charter for this institutionalized form of art.

With this exception (and this is attributed by Sarfert-Damm to Lugeilang), Wolfat remains a rather remote mythological figure, in spite of the compara- [176] tively rich lore clustered about him. He is not credited with any continuing relationship with mankind; nor is he invoked in any of the religious dance songs or incantations.

TIlItr - this son of Lugeiland and brother of Wolfat might be called the patron deity of Ifalik. It is he who is sent down to the atoll by Aluelap to drive off evil spirits, give instructions about curing disease, find and bring to port canoes blown off their courses, and teach mankind the songs by which he and his heavenly relatives can be properly invoked. This he does either by answering the questions addressed to him by favored human beings, or by taking possession of them and speaking or singing with their voices.

TIlItr's house, Ngiligejáp, is in the part of the sky called Lengilialo or

—

Langiliol. He and his son and sister listed below, are not mentioned in any of the religious dance songs, except the one used in invoking him. Some healing incantations collected by Spiro from Gargeligar, TIlItr's oracle during our stay on the atoll, also call on him by name.

The scarcity of lore about this god suggests that he may have been invented - or, as a believer might say, born - in comparatively recent times. Gargeligar, with the confirmation of others present when I interviewed him, said that the first parts of the invocation were known before his time, though TIlItr first sang the last parts through his mouth. The god is named in the third line of the invocation, which (in my rewording of Tom's translation) begins:

Night - it is night now.
Tomorrow, when daylight dawns,
The god TIlItr will speak to us all.

Recent though this god may be, then, Gargeligar seems at least not the first to be possessed by him. An old man, Orgalebwā, who lived in the homestead Weluāra, known as the house of the great gods, was possessed by a god at the time we witnessed the ceremony which includes this invocation. I understand at the time that the god was Aluelap, but this is contrary to the account later given of Aluelap's remaining in the sky and sending other gods to earth. So Orgalebwā may have been possessed by TIlItr as Aluelap's representative.

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians-8
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

TIlItal or **TIlIlalo** - son of TIlItr, mentioned in the invocation as descending to earth with his father and helping to supervise and protect the people.

Leurulalo - sister of TIlItr, mentioned in the invocation as interceding for the people.

Gods of Navigation

Aluluei - master of the lore of seamanship. His role in bringing it to Ifalik is recounted in the myths given in the chapter on Navigation. Said to have lived on Bwennap which, in spite of the underground extension attributed to it, seems to be identifiable with the earthly island Pulap. Other homes of his are (Sarfert-Damm) Piemal, far south of Ifalik; and Pie li Eluluei or Sand of Aluluei.

Paluelap - according to Sarfert-Damm, a son of Aluelap and father of Aluluei. According to Tom's genealogy of the gods of navigation, one of the sons of Aluluei. Figures in the myths of seamanship and is invoked in a ritual to be described later. The name means 'great navigator'. [177]

Farewai - divine weather forecaster. His genealogical position uncertain; there may be two gods of this name. The genealogy given by Tom makes him a brother of Aluluei, as does that of Sarfert-Damm. The same name appears also in Tom's genealogy as a son of Aluluei. This is another Farewai, Tom explained.

Metseleilag - Named in Tom's genealogy, without further details, as brothers of
Teraolemetau - Aluluei.

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians-9
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

Valūr - who changed his name to Sagōl - god of the fish who guide navigators. One of the sons of Aluluei. One of the myths about the lore of seamanship tells how he changed his name, after foiling the attempt of his brother Wĕriĕng to kill him.

Wĕriĕng - god of the sea-birds who guide navigators. Another son of Aluluei. Tried to kill his brother Valūr, who had been carring [sic] on an adulterous affair with Wĕriĕng's wife.

Segur - another son of Aluluei. Associated with the other gods of navigation, but without any exclusive powers, so far as known.

Longolap -
LongorIk - sons of Aluluei. In the myth of the lore of seamanship, LongorIk, the younger son, learned the lore thoroughly; but the uxorious Longolap, distracted by his wife, only learned a little bit, with disastrous results.

Ilekerēp - god of the sea-lanes. Invoked in a navigator's prayer for guidance.

Sauta - invoked in a navigator's prayer for enlightenment.

Iolau - classed with the gods of navigation; but the only specific activity recorded of him is that he makes people sick if they eat wot taro without mashing it, or eat any of his six kinds of fish without first singing the proper song over them, to win his approval.

Loulemwau - god of the canoe. Invoked in a navigator's prayer or incantation to lighten the vessel so that it will stay afloat.

Seimeligarara - a god of canoe building. His building of the first popo canoe told in the myth of Galét.

SemerIk - a god of canoe-building. Not placed genealogically. Invoked in a shipwright's prayer.

Seilangi - another god of shipbuilding, coupled with SemerIk in the shipwright's prayer. According to Sarfert-Damm, a brother of Aluluei. Not named in Tom's genealogy.

Seliwang - (Possibly a variant form of Seilangi.) These two are invoked in a song, to
Tibweau - help repair a canoe-hull which has come apart at sea, by fitting a rope sling about it.

Alulumar - god of house-carpenters. Here grouped with the gods of navigation because mentioned by Sarfert-Damm as one of the sons of Paluelap. Not named in the genealogy given by Tom.

Lauliar - In ordinary speech, this is the name for rainbow. On Ifalik rainbows are thought to bring bad weather. Sarfert-Damm give this as the name of an anthropomorphic spirit who brings storms and destroys canoes at sea unless propitiated [178] by the proper prayer or incantation. Even this will not avail if the people, by their misconduct, have offended Aluelap.

This divinity is of a kind rather rare on Ifalik, being apparently a personification of a natural phenomenon. The only others recorded are Mesilipik, discussed below, and the two stars who suggested names for the son of Aluelap.

Sarfert-Damm relate that Lauliār came ashore on a driftwood log while a woman named Illegieri was bathing her little boy, Illepanigi. Lauliār seized the child and held it until the woman consented to be his wife. When the boy grew up, Lauliar taught him the invocation by which he can be propitiated, then returned to the sky. A different version, with a shift of name, follows.

Ilepanigi - According to a more detailed story told to Spiro, this is the name of the rainbow spirit who came ashore on a driftwood log, seized a boy (in this version named Sirō or hog) and married his mother (in this version named Meri). This tale is given on p. ____ .

Alulevalū or Alus falū (literally, god of the land or island) - chief of the spirits who live ashore, in the trees, and inflict disease on those who disobey the chiefs or shirk communal labor.

Gol - a spirit who causes death.

Sauteti -
Saurek - Named in the invocation to TIlItr as evil spirits, whose arrival on Ifalik is occasion for summoning TIlItr to drive them off. The harm they do is apparently the usual one of bringing sickness.

Saiol - a sea-spirit who inflicts sea-sickness. Among the healing incantations given by

Gargeligar to Spiro is one for exorcising him.

Alumaseragu - mentioned in a song as making love to a mortal woman; in comment on the song, characterized as an evil spirit.

Rangwau - (literally, snatch-quick) - waylays ghosts on their way to the sky, throws them into the lake Rourou to drown.

Alúsiwautas - It is not certain whether this is the name of a specific evil spirit, or a generic term for a class of them. 'Comes on top' of people, - that is, takes possession of them. Insanity is explained as possession by such a spirit.

Some Lesser Supernaturals

Totolu - a sky god who puts medicine, made by men, into coconuts, for the use of pregnant women.

Malemelel - invoked in a prayer or incantation to cure sickness of the head.

Legawo (same as Legobwu?) One of the little shrines beside houses, on Falālap, was said to be for this god. The similar name Legobwu occurs in a song, and was explained as that of a god who formerly brought to favored people whatever they desired. In discussing this song, Tom said that this god is no longer active.

Mesilipik - this being, who according to Gargeligar is not regarded as an alús, seems to be a personification of cold. He lives in the seas between the islands, and

[179] comes on the wind, bringing certain diseases: chills, fever, red spots on the body, blood in the feces.

Some Foreign Supernaturals Known on Ifalik

Uapei - the rainbow spirit of Faraulep, invoked in the súr perou dance performed in Ifalik by the men of FalarIk district, but said to have originated on Faraulep. Uapei comes on the rainbow to rescue mariners lost at sea. The people of Ifalik seem not to take this divinity seriously.

Metileru - a sea-demon of Faraulep. According to the FalarIk súr perou dance song, he comes from afar when the wind is in the east, snatches the souls of sick people from their bodies and carried them off in his canoe of flame.

Tagi - invoked in the FalarIk (originally Faraulep) súr perou to heal the sick by rescuing their souls from the canoe of Metileru.

Mwarisepa or Morisepa - said to be the ghost of a boy who died at sea; presumably a boy of Ulithi, for he is invoked in a series of songs attributed to that island. The songs are called by the same name, gapengpeng, as those used to invoke TIlItr on Ifalik; if there is an accompanying dance, it is not performed on Ifalik so far as known. This spirit helps mariners lost at sea; but people of Ifalik seem to have no active faith in him.

Ligeworlealeal - apparently a god of Ulithi, mentioned in a song attributed to that atoll.

1: Burrows--173-179 (1947-48) Woleaians-14
116, 776, 173 Ifalik

Urumwaretr - a god of Woleai, mentioned in a song said to have originated there.
Ilamware - gods of Eaurupik, mentioned in the laũra stick dance, attributed to that island
Rangunengi - Ilamware is a female, mother of the other two.
Rangule -
Malesaro - another god mentioned in the laũra.

The foregoing list is far from exhaustive. A number of mythological characters, like Galét and his associates, are described as living in the sky and associating with gods. Galet and his wife walked on the waves. They have not been listed here because no relations with mankind are attributed to them. Some characters in other tales have supernatural attributes; notably Tungã in the legend about Lamotrek, who was described by Tom as 'all same man, no man.' But no superhuman deeds are attributed to him."

1: Burrows--179 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 592, 613, 776 Ifalik

"No individual names were recorded for one whole class of supernaturals, the ancestral ghosts associated with homesteads or lineages. There are said to be at least as many of these spirits as there are homesteads (twenty-nine occupied in 1947, several more that had been occupied within the memory of those living then.)"

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 784 Ifalik 1-2

"The concept of taboo, widespread among Pacific island peoples, prevails on Ifalik in a rather simple form. The term itself, taken into English from a language related to that of Ifalik, is in use there, though the final sound is not voiced and speakers of English can notice it more readily by lip-reading than by listening. Following common practise, the local form is here spelled tabw.

The common expression E tabw can usually be translated 'It is forbidden.' But it is not applied to all prohibitions. Conduct disapproved because it is regarded as queer or foolish is not ordinarily called tabw. Nor is the term applied, commonly at least, to the prohibitions emphasized in the chapter on government; though usage seems to be somewhat elastic here. The term tabw, in a strict sense, refers to prohibitions thought to be sanctioned in a special way. We should call it a supernatural way; yet the sanctions are not, as a rule, thought to be administered by supernatural beings.

Conduct called tabw is thought to be dangerous in itself, to incur automatic retribution. The connection made between the misdeed and the penalty is something like what we have in mind when we say 'Don't get your feet wet, or you'll catch cold'; or 'Don't touch that wire, or you'll get a shock.' Yet an essential difference remains. In the case of taboo the connection between deed and consequence is not, as we should say, rationally explained. It remains somewhat mysterious, and is regarded with some awe, though not to the extent of avoiding discussion of it.

The kind of impersonal power believed to enforce the prohibitions called tabw is that commonly called, by students of comparative religion, mana, --another term borrowed from an Oceanic language. That word itself, however, was not heard on Ifalik; nor was any other with an equivalent meaning. The power behind taboo seems to have, on this atoll, no explicit name."

1: Burrows--180 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 764, 784 Ifalik

"The only other term whose meaning is closely related to tabw, so far as learned, is fäm. This expresses a condition which Radcliffe Brown ( ) called 'ritual danger', and is applied to human beings at certain crucial times. When a person is fäm, some kinds of conduct ordinarily permissible become tabw to him; in other words, he has to observe special precautions.

Death is one of the events that can make people fäm. Members of a household in which a death has occurred may not gather or prepare food for three days. Food is prepared for them by neighbors, or by relatives not so closely akin to the dead, and these offerings of freshly cooked food, called agilimēs, are brought to the mourners. Those who are fäm are not prohibited, however, as in some regions of more elaborate taboo, from using their hands to feed themselves.

Sea-burial, a custom found nowhere else in the surrounding area, is enjoined on Ifalik by a taboo on burial ashore. If a body was left ashore, it is said, all the vegetation would wither."

1: Burrows--180-181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 843, 784 Ifalik

"Childbirth is another event that imposes this condition. A woman is not surrounded by taboos during most of her pregnancy, except that sexual intercourse is prohibited from the time pregnancy is first diagnosed--commonly by the interruption of the menses --until the [181] external signs become apparent. The duration of this taboo is said to be about a month; intercourse during that time, it is said, would kill the baby. Thereafter intercourse is resumed, and indeed, approved, until a late stage in the pregnancy."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians 1.2
116, 846, 784 Ifalik

"When labor pains begin, or are momentarily expected, the woman goes to the birth house (*im lipelū*) on Falalap near the channel. This building is strictly *tabw* to men. If a man were to enter it, all the food would rot, and all the people suffer famine. Spiro did not succeed in having an exception to this taboo made in his case; even the psychopathic Tarobweliman did not venture into the birth house, so far as known.

While a woman is in the birth house, her close relatives, which means, approximately, her parents, husband, and children; perhaps one or more sisters as well - go to live in a house reserved for this purpose near the birth house. They stay there as long as the mother and child remain in the birth house. The conventional length of her stay is ten days. All are *fäm* during that period. All return together to their home, and at this time the taboos are lifted from all except the parents.

Work other than caring for the child is *tabw* to the mother for a considerable period. First stated as two months, this was later defined more strictly as follows: if the moon is visible at sunset, or during the rather short interval thereafter before people go to bed, this *tabw* lasts for one month; if the moon is not visible at that time, for two months. It was also said that the mother may not leave the homestead for three months. The homestead is here defined to include a bit of shallow water opposite the house site, where the baby is bathed. The father too, is subjected to some restrictions, though they are less rigorous, for the same period as the mother. One taboo--on sexual intercourse lasts until the child can walk. The penalty ascribed to violation of this is the same as

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 846, 784 Ifalik

that for sexual intercourse during early pregnancy--the death of the baby."

1: Burrows--181 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 841, 784 Ifalik

"Menstruation is surrounded by taboos, though I did not hear the term făm applied to a menstruating woman. Women are required to spend these periods in seclusion, in little huts built for the purpose on each homestead. They may not visit the taro patches, nor take part in preparation of food. The little huts used for this seclusion are at all times taboo to men. If a man should enter one of them, the people would all fall sick; or, according to another statement, would starve. On the other hand, if a menstruating woman leaves her seclusion hut, the kind of divination called bwei, described later, will not work.

The vicinity of a small tree on Falā̆rIk, close to the channel that separates that island from Falā̆lap, is taboo to menstruating women. The tree is called rongonax, and is said to be the only one of its kind on the atoll. If a menstruating woman were to come near it, a typhoon would spring up, so severe that sea water would wash all over the atoll."

1: Burrows--181-182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 462, 784, 283 Ifalik

"The artificial pools of fresh water in which coconut husks are soaked to loosen the fibers in preparation for making sinnet are taboo to men. These pools, (called lip wa li gos) are dug among coconut groves, always at some distance from a dwelling. The work of digging them and walling them with blocks of coral may be done by men, or by men and women together. The final use of the fibers prepared partly in them--that of twisting cordage--is exclusively men's work. But the soaking of the husks is strictly women's work, and men may not enter the pools, once they fill up with water. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable [182] to catch fish for 20 days; and if he tries to, will fall sick."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"The other taboo period in connection with fishing follows a successful drive on a school of bonito in the lagoon. After such a catch, none of the men may work, except for smoking the fish and a few other specified light tasks such as making sinnet cordage, for three days. They must also avoid sexual intercourse during that time. If a man violates this taboo, he will be unable to spear any fish the next time a school of bonito is rounded up.

Various minor taboos apply to other kinds of fishing. For example, when fish caught in one of the large traps that are set about driftwood logs at sea were brought to us as a gift, the chief Maroligar offered to cook them for us, and broiled them over a little fire of dry coconut leaves. He explained that if we cooked them in our usual way--in a frying pan--there would be no more driftwood, hence no more fish caught with the big traps. A glimpse of another fishing taboo appeared when some men bringing in a catch of fish shouted a warning, and small boys on the shore went away. One of them tried to tell me why, but I could not understand. Tom explained that women and children must not watch when fish are brought ashore. This taboo does not seem to apply to all kinds of fishing, certainly not to bonito drives, in which the whole population takes part. I failed to find just how far it applies."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 226, 784 Ifalik

"Taboo periods are imposed on men in connection with certain kinds of fishing, as described in connection with fishing technology. The longest and most severe is associated with torchlight fishing for flying-fish, when the men must sleep in the canoe-houses for three months, and during that time must abstain from sexual intercourse and from eating preserved breadfruit."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 241, 271, 784 Ifalik

"When Tom's wife Lagarajong gave us a demonstration of preparing a bed and planting *wot*, we all grew thirsty, and Tom cut drinking coconuts for us from a nearby tree. In order to drink them, we had to sit in the clump of coconut trees, which rose like an islet out of the lower land of taro swamp. Tom explained that drinking coconuts on the taro land itself is *tabw*. This, and the taboo on gardening during menstruation, are the only ones collected in connection with this branch of food production. It would not be surprising if there were a number of others not brought out by my matter-of-fact questions about gardening, and not observed directly because the taro patch is women's territory (though not taboo to men), and we spent only a few hours there."

1: Burrows--182 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 562, 343, 784 Ifalik

"Associated with this, to some extent, is one permanent taboo. Women must never enter canoe-houses. They even avoid those sections of the main path along the shore which pass immediately in front of canoe-houses. Along most of the settled part of Rauau there is an alternate path farther inland, among the house platforms. Women going from FalārIk district to Falālap, for example, will leave the main path as it approaches the canoe-house Fan ni Wā, and follow the inland path all the way to the channel. The foreshore is not forbidden to them, however, except for narrow strips directly shoreward from the canoe-houses. Even these are not so strictly taboo as the houses themselves. But if a woman crosses them, she will usually go along the beach, or at least not immediately in front of the canoe-house. Sometimes, as during the nightly rehearsals for the men's dances, women will sit very near the canoe-houses, nearly under their eaves."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 372, 252, 784 Ifalik

"The fire on which a sick person's food is cooked may not be used by others. Households in which someone is sick will use two cooking fires, one for the invalid, the other for the rest of the people. Another taboo on sharing fire was exemplified by Tom when he asked Spiro to light a cigarette for a woman. He could not do it himself, he explained, because the woman was a classificatory sister."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians

116, 784, 787 Ifalik

"Performance of certain religious rites--invocation of a god, the more formal and solemn kinds of divination--imposes a three-day taboo on the man who takes a leading part in them, though not upon others who take less prominent part as spectators and assistants. The activities prohibited during this period are sexual intercourse, giving food to others, or receiving food from them."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 835 Ifalik

"The word tabw is used for the incest ban, or prohibition on marriage within the clan or between some other close relatives. This taboo is said to have been ordained by the goddess Autran, though it was not said that she took an active part in punishing violations of it. Since the sanction of death or banishement, inflicted by unquestioned human agency, was said to be the punishment for violation of this rule, it seems to belong to a middle ground between taboos in the strictest sense, with supernatural sanctions, and rules of government, deliberately enforced by men."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 685, 345, 784 Ifalik

"Another kind of taboo that is not altogether typical is the prohibition against trespassing on the site of the ancient men's house. As shown in the discussion of symbols of rank, the bad weather thought to follow violations of this rule is, unlike the usual sanction of taboos, attributed to specific supernatural persons--the ghosts of the great men of old who frequented the men's house that used to stand on this site, and still resent any disrespect shown to the place. The taboos against trespassing on the two homesteads associated with the lineages of highest rank are also ways of showing respect to the dead of high rank. I failed to find out whether trespassing on these sites is thought to be punished by ancestral spirits of these chiefly lineages."

1: Burrows--183 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 396, 784 Ifalik

"The morning fast imposed upon builders of a new canoe on the two crucial days of the job--the beginning, when lines are drawn to shape the hull, and the day of attaching the outrigger--is a ritual precaution to ensure that the vessel will sail fast and well. Though explained to me in this positive way, it could as well be put in the negative form usual in discussing taboos. Eating is taboo to the workmen on these two mornings. The penalty of a violation would be failure in their task, to the extent that the canoe would be slow."

1: Burrows--183-187 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789 Ifalik /6

"Some idea of the frequency of communal religious activities is afforded by a list of entries on this subject from the field journal kept during our stay. It must be noted in advance that this records only the more conspicuous events. Such little ceremonies as making flowers for the gods were too numerous to mention. Some performances found noteworthy the first time they were observed were disregarded later on, when they seemed merely 'more of the same'. A few such instances have been inserted in parentheses at about the time they took place, though the exact date can not be remembered. Finally, [184] since the center of ritual was the homestead Weluāra on Falālap, while we lived across the channel on FalārIk, a number of minor ceremonies undoubtedly escaped us altogether. As noted in one of the journal entries, 'They do this often in small groups, and say nothing about it.'

For what it is worth as illustration, the list of journal entries follows, with inserted comment:

July 29.-Just after we arrived, a dance, later found to be a *gapeng peng* or invocation to a god, was performed for Americans ashore. It was given in front of the men's house on FalārIk, instead of the usual place on Falalap. Though the dance and song are primarily religious, this particular performance seems to have been intended simply as entertainment for the visitors.

A rather long gap between entries here is probably due to the fact that this was the beginning of our stay. We could not yet interpret what we saw, nor talk to anybody except

Tom; and the people did not volunteer information as they did later on, because they did not yet know what we were interested in, and were still a bit shy and distrustful.

August 18. -Ritual to ensure safe arrival of a canoe departing for Faraulep. Most of the other departing canoes shoved off so early in the morning that this ritual was not seen. It is my impression that for the most frequent trip, to Woleai, it was dispensed with; whether because the people of Woleai, who are more or less Christianized, disapproved of it, or because this trip was too short to be considered a serious risk. Actually the ritual acts that accompany the beginning of a voyage do not form an integrated ceremony, but consist of various bits of ritual and incantations, some of them standard, others known only to a few navigators. So it might be hard to find two departures exactly alike, unless they lacked ritual altogether.

August 21. -Shouting overheard from Falālap. Explained as the conclusion of a thanksgiving ceremony given by a few people, probably one household. (Presumably a minor offering of flowers, invocation, and perhaps distribution of 'medicine'.)

August 26. -Funeral of a man who died the night before. (All funerals are preceded by a night of wailing. Women had been wailing over this man for about a week.)

September 12. -Rite of passage for a girl's first menstruation. (The song that accompanies this is also an incantation to drive off wind and rains.)

September 19-20. -The entire population devoted two days to the most elaborate invocation and distribution of medicine we saw. The gods invoked were Tılıtr and his son

1: Burrows--183-187 (19474-48) Woleaians-3
116, 789 Ifalik

Tilital.

September 22.-A woman saw an evil spirit. Gargeligar possessed by TIlItr. He and a group of young men roamed about far into the night to exorcise the demon.

October 1.-Gargeligar possessed by a god again. He was instructed [185] to make medicine.

October 2.-Gargeligar made medicine on Falālap, distributed it to all comers.

October 4.-Gargeligar on the prowl again, blowing the boatswain's whistle which is supposed to make a noise like a god. Hymn of invocation sung at the homestead Falevelū (a frequent occurrence at several of the more pious homesteads. The head of this household was distinctly a religious man.)

October 8.-Gargeligar once more roamed the island with the young men, singing.

October 9.-Dance to invoke the god on Falālap, followed by distribution of medicine. (A holiday for the whole population, but less elaborate than that of Sept. 19-20.) At night, Gargeligar and his young men walked and sang again.

October 11.-Funeral of a woman on Falālap.

October 12.-Tom drove off a threatening storm by going out on the stone pier at Katelu, blowing his conch horn, singing an incantation, and waving the clouds away.

October 21-23 (approximately).-Maroligar busy early every morning on the stone pier, sitting facing the lagoon, with a kinsman, doing divination with strips of coconut leaf. Said it was for a sick person.

1: Burrows--183-187 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 789 Ifalik

October 23. -Beginning of rehearsals for uru dance, a religious performance, but held this time at my request. (Thereafter until the final performance, rehearsals were held nearly every evening unless it rained, at three canoe-houses; one in FalārIk, one in Rauau, one in Falālap).

November 1. -Boys went to Falālap with Maroligar to 'make medicine' for his sick kinswoman Nobwor.

November 15. -Final daylight performance of uru at Rauau. Whole populace attended, though FalarIk men did not perform. An all-day celebration.

(During a period of rainy weather about this time, I happened upon Tom on the stone pier in FalārIk, trying his incantation again on a storm coming from the west. He did not repeat the success of the other performance we saw, but kept valiantly at it until drenched.)

November 27. -Invocation and distribution of medicine on Falālap. (By this time the parades of Gargeligar and the young men by night had come to seem commonplace, and were no longer noted.) [186]

December 3. -Overwater head built for us beside pier at Katēlū (not the one used by Maroligar and Tom for their rituals), to end our violation of the tabooed site of the ancient men's house. The chiefs attribute the recent bad weather to indignation of the spirits of the great men of old.

December 12. -Offering of food noted at beginning of a feast to celebrate completion of

1: Burrows--183-187 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 789 Ifalik

repairs on a canoe-house. Such offerings were made at the beginning of every communal meal; so such entries might have been made at the conclusion of all the public works listed in the section on economics.

(About this time, another rite of passage was held for first menstruation of a young girl, but not noted in the journal.)

December 26. -Invocation and making of medicine for the sick woman Nobwór. (Noted again on Dec. 28; we were told it was performed for four successive days by Maroligar, after that by Gargeligar.)

December 27. -Lines drawn to guide hewing the hull of a new canoe for Tom's elder son. Workmen observed a partial fast.

December 28. -Outrigger attached to Tom's canoe. Workmen fasted. (This was a different canoe, and different workmen. The fact that the crucial tasks on the two came on succeeding days was a coincidence.)

January 2. -Feast at the homestead Soumat, concluding the series of invocations for Nobwór. The sick woman, now very weak and wasted, lay in one of the houses used for the feast.

January 12. -Ritual for diagnosis and healing of the chief Paliuilimar, who has been suffering for some time from a wasting sickness, apparently the same as that of Nobwór.

January 15. -Funeral of Nobwór.

February 2. -Funeral of Paliuilimar.

1: Burrows--183-187 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 789 Ifalik

In spite of the incompleteness of the list, the entries average less than a week apart, showing that religious services of one kind or another are more frequent in what may be called the church of Ifalik than in churches that hold services only on Sundays. Plainly they are not held at any fixed interval. As a matter of fact, the time for each of the more important ceremonies, in which the whole population takes part, is set by the chiefs, though the initiative is often taken, as the people believe, by a god, who takes possession of some man--most often Gargeligar--and commands that a ceremony be given.

Some of the gaps in the list are due to irrelevant factors, such as our poor observation during the early days of our stay, perhaps sags [187] in interest later on, and such misfortunes as bad weather and fatal disease. Aside from that, I had an impression of something like waves or tides of religious interest. Data are insufficient to test this, except that one concentration of religious feeling is clearly perceptible, from September 19 to October 4-or perhaps, tapering off, to October 9. The big invocation seems to have heightened religious feeling to the point where other events followed in quick succession; a woman saw a demon, Gargeligar was repeatedly possessed by a god, and thereupon roamed the trails with the young men to drive off evil spirits. Observation over a longer period might well show a recurrence of such surges of feeling, possibly even some regularity in them."

1: Burrows--187-188 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789 Ifalik /-

"Casual as the list is, it still shows something of the kinds of rituals that prevail on the atoll, and the interests about which they cluster. An attempt at classification of ritual follows:

1. Invocation of beneficent gods:
   (a) communal, to ward off disease, ensure a plentiful supply of food, or for other purposes, more than one of which may be combined in one ceremony. Involves flower offerings at the shrine (described on p. ___), singing a hymn of invocation, making and blessing a medicinal drink, and a concluding feast.
   (b) invocation by communal performance of the song and dance called gapengpeng. One dance for men, another for women; both performed seated.
   (c) invocation by communal performance of the dances called uru. Performed by men only, mostly standing. The only performance witnessed was held at my request and may have been less heartfelt than usual; at any rate, the religious element in it seemed subordinate to one of merrymaking. The song texts are partly religious, partly a medley including at least one love-song and one lament.
   (d) private incantation by a religious specialist; most often for diagnosis and treatment of disease, or for help in driving off an evil spirit,--these, too, feared mainly for diseases they are believed to inflict.
   (e) by a builder (an individual performance, but commonly in the presence of his

1: Burrows--187-188 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 789 Ifalik

workers), to ensure success in his work.

(f) by a navigator (again individual but in the presence of others) to keep the canoe afloat, ward off storms, and otherwise ensure a successful voyage. One ritual seen was addressed to Paluelap. [188]

2. Exorcism of evil spirits:

(a) communal, by invoking a blessing on square mats (timãs) of young white coconut leaf, which are hung about the shore so that they are visible from the sea.

(b) by groups of young men, under the leadership of a religious specialist possessed by a god; the other too may be possessed. They roam the trails by night, singing songs which are both invocations to beneficient spirits and incantations to exorcise evil ones.

(c) private, by a healer who sings incantations to exorcise the evil spirit responsible for illness.

(d) by navigators, who sing incantations to drive off storms or evil spirits."

1: Burrows--188-189 (1947-48) Woleaians, 1-2
116, 782 Ifalik

"Offering (iōiō) to a beneficient god.

The general pattern is that these offerings are made by a chief or specialist at the conclusion (or at some crucial stage) of an important undertaking. (Commonly a first offering of coconuts is followed by one of cooked food. The offering is accompanied by a brief spoken prayer of thanksgiving and appeal for continued help in the future). The following seem to be the principal occasions:

(a) by the leader of a communal task (commonly a chief), at the beginning of the feast which celebrates its conclusion. The deity to whom the offering is made varies with the nature of the task.

(b) by a healer, to Lugeilang, who is asked to make the treatment effective. One offering of coconuts, a later one of food.

(c) by a master-carpenter, to Alulemas, when a building is completed. Coconuts are distributed to the workers; the juice that spurts from them when they are opened is regarded as the offering. The prayer offers thanks for success of the task, and asks for help with the next one. [189]

(d) by a shipwright. Such an offering, at an early stage of the work, is described in the account of canoe building. When a canoe is completed, an offering of coconuts is laid beside it for Seilangi. The prayer announces the offering, and asks that the builder's next canoe may be a good one. Later, at the feast for the workers, a package of fish and taro wrapped in a leaf is put into the sea for Seilangi.

(e) by a navigator, to Aluluei. When a canoe enters the pass through the reef, outward bound on a voyage, the navigator offers, first two coconuts, later food and a new cloth. Asks protection from wind and rain and safe guidance to the port. These offerings are not thrown into the sea. The food is later eaten by the navigator and crew, the cloth kept for use."

1: Burrows--189-[redacted] (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 771 Ifalik

"Plainly these categories [KS: of religious activities on pp. 183-189] are not mutually exclusive. Exorcism of evil spirits is accomplished largely by invocation of beneficent ones. Offerings include invocations. A song may be at the same time a prayer and an incantation. Indeed, religion and magic are so blended throughout that any attempt to separate them would distort the picture.

These forms of worship might be classified in a variety of other ways, but no one basis of classification could be entirely satisfactory. For all its shortcomings, the table above seems to bring out the prevalent pattern."

1: Burrows--189 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 764 Ifalik

"Rites of passage. There are only two of these: taurang, to celebrate a girl's first menstruation, in which she is bedecked in finery while a song is sung over her, then leads a parade from her maternal homestead to that of her father; and the funeral, which includes all-night wailing and singing of laments (arüerü), followed by sea-burial."

1: Burrows--189-190 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 771, 177 Ifalik 1-2

"One ritual that was never seen can not be classified for lack of clear understanding of its purpose. It was a specialty of the second-ranking chief, Maroligar, and involved apparatus kept in the men's house, Katēlū. On one of the middle posts, just below the tie-beams or about 6 feet from the floor, hangs a bag of sennit cord, subconical in shape. A slender wooden rod, about 2 feet in length and 1/4 inch in diameter, is threaded in and out across the top of the bag. Below, about a foot from the floor, is a platform approximately 5 feet square with vertical side-boards. The poles that support the corners continue upward to a height of about 4 feet, where they are connected by cross-pieces. These form a kind of rack, on which are hung cloths as offerings. Other offerings--garlands, tobacco--are sometimes left on the platform. The whole suggests a rude Shinto 'god-shelf' and its form decidedly suggests Japanese influence.

[190] Tom, when asked what this apparatus was and how it was used, said that inside the sennit bag are 12 shells of a mollusc called livou ror, that lives under stones by day, and comes out at night. Ordinary specimens of this creature are eaten. A shell that he brought to show what they are like is a flat spiral 2 or 3 inches in diameter and about 3/8 of an inch thick, with an elaborate pattern of brown markings on a white background. Each of the shells in the bag has a name of its own.

From time to time, Tom explained, people bring an offering to Maroligar, and ask him to perform the ritual. He takes down the bag, opens it, lays the shells on a fine pandanus mat, touches each of them with the stick, and names it. The names are known only to a few, and Tom was either unable or unwilling to reveal them. He gave no more details about the ceremony, but said that after it is performed there is a taboo on work, for the whole population, for four days. Thereafter 'there is plenty of food of all kinds, both sea food and vegetables.' People bring food from all parts of the atoll, and consume it in a communal feast at the men's house. Obviously Tom's description was minimal. The obvious next step, questioning of Maroligar, was postponed, in the hope that we would have an opportunity to see the ritual performed. But this never happened during our stay, and the interview with Maroligar was still pending when the ship returned and took us away. From Tom's description, the ceremony seems to be a form of invocation. Yet the touching and naming of the shells has the look of divination."

1: Burrows--190-191 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 787 Ifalik 1-3

"Several ways of foretelling the future, particularly by means of strips of coconut leaf, are rather generally known. Yet some know more about them than others. In these Maroligar was a specialist, and had been from his youth: for two love-songs composed in his honor mention this skill of his. The list of excerpts from the journal notes that on several successive mornings in November he was seen to go out, soon after sunrise, on one of the stone piers that projected into the lagoon from Katelu. [191]

Another man, a fellow-clansman, accompanied him. They sat facing the water, the other man a little to the rear and to one side of Maroligar. Maroligar tore little strips of leaflet, about a quarter of an inch wide, from a coconut leaf he brought with him. These he manipulated, one by one, for a long time, then stared solemnly out to sea. Asked what he had been doing, Maroligar explained in his rudimentary English, 'Suppose some man, woman, boy, sick. Man come. I make.' He explained that he talked to the strips of leaf; then looked at them, to find what ailed the patient; and so determined what should be done for a cure. Of the strips of leaflet he said 'All men savvy make. No all men savvy talk, look.' The words then, were in a particular form, evidently a prayer or incantation. The whole procedure was an attempt at diagnosis of desease and prescription for it. Maroligar volunteered his opinion that its efficacy was limited: 'Me think, small no-good; small good.'

More specific explanations of two kinds of divination with strips of coconut leaf were obtained from Tom. One, called bwei, is a specialty of sea-captains, hence within Tom's special sphere of knowledge. He tore off three strips of leaflet and tied a series of simple knots in each. Then he laid them in the spaces between his fingers. The knots, he said, are counted off in a series of fours. The number of the last knot determines the answer to the question in mind. Each of the numbers - 1, 2, 3, and 4 - has a special meaning. These meanings are known only to a few, Tom said, and did not tell me what they are. This kind of divination may be used to determine what evil spirit is inflicting disease. It has to be worked separately for each *alus* until the one responsible is found.

Another method is called *trip* or *tribwe*. (The first pronunciation seems to be the common one in ordinary speech. It may be a contraction of the second, which was recorded in a song text.) Tom said he did not know all the rules of interpretation, but showed no reluctance in imparting what he did know. This attitude, contrasted with his reticence about the form he was supposed to know, suggests a belief that imparting the true lore to an outsider may impair its effect, while there can be no harm in passing along mere hearsay. To make a *trip*, the four fingers of the left hand are extended, close together, and a strip of leaflet, without knots in it, is wound around them. The answer to the question in mind depends on what part of the hand is reached by the end of the strip. If it comes to the second finger, on the inside of the hand, the augury is good. If it comes to the second finger on the outside of the hand, the augury is very bad. If it reaches the little finger - whether inside or outside was not specified - the omen is favorable.

1: Burrows--190-191
116, 787

(1947-48)

Woleaians-3
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This divination will reveal whether someone far away is alive and well. A song celebrating the homecoming of a seafarer says: 'The coconut leaf told me you were well.' It may also be used to find out whether love is requited. One of the songs about Maroligar describes this:

He sits under a tree nearby
And splits off a strip of leaf.
I must go see how it turns out!
Out there in the sunshine,
Taking another strip, he sees that he will win me;
The charm has told him so.
We were both very happy;
We looked in each other's eyes
And shyness overcame us.

When I told Maroligar about the plucking of daisy petals in our culture, and how they say 'He loves me - he loves me not', he was much pleased at the similarity of custom."

1: Burrows--192 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 787, 753 Ifalik 1-2

"....other forms of divination may be used to diagnose disease. The most elaborate form we saw, which seemed to involve both diagnosis and treatment, was a ceremony conducted by Gargeligar for the chief Paliuilimar, who was failing rapidly. Gargeligar had already tried other treatments, including the singing of incantations.

Early in the morning of January 12, abouty [sic] forty-five people gathered on the platform about Paliuilimar's house. When we arrived, Gargeligar was smoking inside the house. Outside, near the eaves, two green coconuts with a stem connecting them were lying on the coral gravel. A sort of wooden dagger was laid against the stem.

Gargeligar took position at the outer edge of the platform. The two nuts were placed in the middle of a space between him and the house.

The aged patient, looking very sick, crawled out of the house and sat on a mat under the eaves, facing Gargeligar. Gargeligar stood up solemnly, took the dagger and one of the nuts, and opened the nut by first scoring the husk with the dagger, then plunging its point into the nut. He poured the water from the nut over Paliuilimar's head, then threw the nut over his right shoulder. He did the same with the other nut. Then, taking a bit of coconut leaflet midrib, he pushed back the hair from Paliuilimar's forehead, as if with a brush. As he did this, his lips were moving. Presumably he was reciting an incantation. Then he tossed the bit of midrib up on the thatch of the house. Paliuilimar crawled back into the house.

Gargeligar and two of his kinsmen, whom he was instructing in the healing art, then

1: Burrows--192 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 787, 753 Ifalik

carefully examined the cracks he had made in the husks of the two coconuts. He sent the two into the woods to get leaves of aro. While they were gone, he asked for a piece of turmeric paint, which was handed him from inside the house. With this he painted the incision in one of the nuts. Tom murmured to us 'Very bad that nut.'

When his apprentices brought the aro leaves, Gargeligar laid them over the painted incision in the nut as if he were healing it. Tom said to us 'He very happy.'

Gargeligar brought the ceremony to an end by announcing that the disease was inflicted by an evil spirit from Bwënnau. As this was Paliuilimar's ancestral homestead, the spirit was presumably the ghost of an ancestor of his. Yet Gargeligar added that the spirit was also (Tom's translation) 'a little bit sea-god.' As sea-gods are particularly dreaded, this statement was ominous. Far from considering his cure infallible, Gargeligar told Spiro about this time that unless some great change took place, the old chief would die. This prediction proved correct. Paliuilimar died on February 1."

1: Burrows--192-193 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 791 Ifalik 1-7

"Specialization in religion among the people of Ifalik is a matter of degree. There is no sharply differentiated priesthood. Yet two men were distinguished, while we were there, as oracles of a god and one other was recognized as a neophyte. Still another was the leading diviner; while several, especially Tom and his fellow-navigators, controlled limited lore and powers in connection with some other specialty.

The oracles were Orgalebwā and Gargeligar. Orgalebwā, old and emaciated, was confined to his sleeping-mat, on the floor of the house at Weluāra which was also the house of the great gods. He was the one upon whom the god descended to assemble the people for the most elaborate invocation ceremony we saw. Gargeligar was the most [193] frequently possessed and far the most active, both as master of ceremonies and as healer. In his capacity as master of ceremonies he was called taubwóngbwóng. This term, if I understood Tom's explanation, means master of waving to and fro. This refers to the beginning of the full-fledged invocation ceremony, when a fringe of dried coconut leaf, rather like a miniature thatch-sheet, is waved to and from by men who squat about the altar of the great gods and intone the first part of the hymn of invocation. The meaning of this particular bit of ritual has been extended to cover the whole. Sarfert translated what seems to be the same word as *Anrufung* or invocation. Indeed, Gargeligar told Spiro that *bwôngbwông* is the same as gapeng, the name of the song and dance of invocation; but Tom denied this.

The neophyte was Truesai, son but not heir of the paramount chief. He had not yet been possessed by the god, Spiro was told. He seemed to be word-perfect in the hymn of invocation; but so did a number of others. He sang part of it as a solo at the great invocation ceremony. He was prominent in dances of Falālap, and walked with the chief mourners - though he was not one of the closest relatives - in at least one funeral procession, when the body of the woman Nobwòr was carried from her house to a canoe for burial at sea. Both he and Gargeligar were muscular, handsome men, fond of adorning themselves with flowers and filling the public eye. A foreigner, to whom matrilineal succession is not a matter of course, might well wonder whether one reason for Truesai's taking this road to prominence might be that his father was paramount chief, while he, as a member of his mother's lowly clan (Bwel) had no chance of succeeding to a title, unless one exceptional and even questionable possibility announced by the chiefs - that of a man succeeding his father - were invoked in his case. Everyone seemed to expect that the god would descend on Truesai later, and that he would succeed Gargeligar as taubwòngbwòng.

Divine possession was not strictly limited to Orgalebwã and Gargeligar. They seemed, indeed, to be the first choice of the god TIlItr as messenger of Aluelap. It was through Gargeligar's mouth that TIlItr first sang the two final stanzas or sections of the hymn of invocation. The preceding parts were known before Gargeligar's time. He told us that after the god left him he knew nothing of what had happened. Several times we saw Gargeligar when the god was supposed to be upon him. He was unquestionably in an exalted state. To us it seemed that, whatever other influences might be at work, he showed every sign of having imbibed freely of fermented toddy. Orgalebwā was the only one I heard speaking in the special way Tom called 'talk for god'. It consisted of a strange intonation, - beginning on a high pitch, descending waveringly to a low one, then starting on the high pitch again. Whether the words uttered differed much from ordinary speech I could not be sure. The people seemed to understand them without difficulty. I could make out nothing; but this was rather early in our stay, when I understood very little even of ordinary speech. From time to time the god descended upon others. The youth Talimeira, assigned by the chiefs to help us, told Spiro that the god had descended upon him during one of the nights of walking and singing with Gargeligar. Asked how he knew, he said that he found himself shaking from head to foot, and singing at the top of his voice. He was distinctly a 'minor,' and in all probability had not had any fermented toddy. At the time of the first great ceremony, before any of this nocturnal activity, the chiefs told Tom to explain to us that we would probably notice the young men walking about at night and singing. They had Tom caution us against thinking that the youths were drunk. The psychological nature of this divine possession falls in Spiro's field on [sic] inquiry."

1: Burrows--193-194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 759, 787 Ifalik

"As a prominent healer, Gargeligar was called tautavē or master of medicine. Skill in the healing art is even more a matter of degree than specialization in other matters connected with religion. Indeed, not all healing was religious. Some herbal remedies, like those listed in the chapter on technology, seem to be common knowledge. Others are hereditary, apparently within the lineage. Massage, with a kneading or pinching motion, was practised by various experts, among them Maroligar. Maroligar, [194] indeed, as leading diviner, was probably second to Gargeligar in the healing art. As noted in the excerpt from the journal for December 26, he and Gargeligar both invoked the great gods while the woman Nobwórs was on her death-bed. I did not hear the term tautavē applied to him - as a chief he had no need of lesser titles - but am confident he would qualify for it. Indeed, this seems not to be as formal a title as tamól (chief) or palū̆ (navigator), which are applied exclusively to a few individuals who have been awarded it by 'due process.' As far as I could make out it seems rather elastic, like the title of master-carpenter on houses. At any rate, Gargeligar claimed pre-eminence among healers on the ground that he alone received diagnoses and prescriptions for treatment direct from TIlItr. He would invoke the god, then follow instructions--a different process from divine possession, for then he was supposed to remember nothing of what the god said."

1: Burrows--194 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 353, 824 Ifalik 1-2

"The visible trappings of religion on Ifalik, like nearly all their artifacts are extremely simple. The so-called 'house of the gods' at Weluāra differs neither in appearance nor use from any other dwelling. The most distinctive building on the atoll, the men's house at Katēlū, has indeed some religious significance. The equipment for Maroligar's special ritual, described on p. ______, is kept there, and a cloth commonly hangs on the front wall as an offering to a god. But the symbolism of this building, as shown in the chapter on government, emphasizes human rank and authority more than religion.

Most conspicuous of religious emblems are what I have called shrines on some of the house platforms, just outside one end - the western end in every case I noticed - of a dwelling. These are little round flower-beds, about a yard in diameter, spread with clean, smooth sand that contrasts with the coral gravel of the rest of the platform. They are called *tariaga* (once recorded as *tariege*), but if Tom and I managed to understand each other on this point, the general word for flowers (*mware*), is also sometimes applied to them. The plants grown on them emphasize verdure and fragrance rather than blossoms: the large 'elephant-ear' leaves of true tar (*wot*) also prized as food; an occasional sprouting coconut, with leaves two or three feet high; and various aromatic shrubs, such as *warung*. During a ceremony the greenery was supplemented by a whole fresh coconut leaf and a leafy shoot of *aro*, stuck into the sand.

Most elaborate of these shrines is that for the great gods at Weluāra. In addition to the plants, four rods called guruguru, the general name for walking-stick, are stuck into the sand, projecting to various heights. There is one each for the four great gods: Aluelap, Lugeilang, Wolfat, and TIlItr. They are painted or dyed in various colors: one red, one white, one in broad horizontal bands of alternating flame-color and a very dark green, nearly black. The pigment for the flame-colored bands is the prized rang or baked turmeric, imported from one of the high islands."

1: Burrows--194-195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 778, 782 Ifalik

"Another conspicuous religious emblem is the timás, a mat of white young coconut leaf a little more than a foot square, with the pointed ends of the leaflets projecting along one side in a stiff fringe. Numbers of these are plaited by the young men, taken to the house of the god - or sometimes elsewhere - to be endowed with divine power, then hung all about the shores of the inhabited islets. They are suspended from branches which overhang either the beach or - on the lagoon side - the water itself.

The ceremony of blessing these timás is brief, and not of itself an occasion for assembling the whole population. At Weluāra it sometimes accompanies one of the [195] regular ceremonies of invocation. In that case the prayer or incantation that confers power on the squares of mat is part of the regular song of invocation. Once the sound of a conch horn, blowing from FalārIk district, was explained as part of a ceremony of blessing timás. We were told it would be over before we could get there. Whether the usual hymn was also used on that occasion is not certain.

Once in position facing the shore, the squares of mat can be seen from some distance at sea, especially when they are fresh and of a bright ivory color, contrasting with their green background of leaves. They are thought to act as talismans and keep off evil sea-spirits."

1: Burrows--195 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 789, 778 Ifalik

"Visible emblems (Sinnbilder) accompany invocation to certain particular gods, according to Sarfert. That for Lugweilang is a paddle with two coconut leaves tied about its handle. The adze-head had formerly been used when Lauliār was invoked, or rather exorcised - for the object was to prevent the rainbow-god from destroying canoes at sea. But this adze-head had been washed out to sea in the typhoon of 1907. Carpenters invoking Alulumar used a dancing-staff (guruguru) with a strip of coconut leaflet tied about one end. Maroligar used one of the few carved dancing-staffs seen as a walking-stick, but I never saw it used in connection with the repairs to canoe-houses that he supervised; and when I asked him if he knew how I could get a specimen of such a staff, he readily gave me one of the two he owned. He would hardly have done this if the staff had been a sacred emblem."

1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 778, 178 Ifalik

"For Aluluei, god of navigation, Sarfert found two emblems: a wooden anthropomorphic figure, and a conch-shell horn. Tom's mention of such wooden figures, and his statement that none exist on Ifalik any more, has been noted in the account of navigation. As senior navigator of the island, Tom owned a conch horn; and blew it while singing his incantation to ward off storms. But he did not mention its use in connection with invocations of gods of navigation, though he gave me the texts of a series of prayers of invocations to them.

Curiously, the only other emblems of this kind we saw in use were connected with a deity who, according to Sarfert, had no special ceremony of invocation - Paluelap. The emblems or insignia were of two kinds: strips of white young coconut leaf, which were waved over the hull of a canoe about to set out for another island, then tied around the end-posts; and a mature coconut in its husk, with a strip of leaflet knotted about it. This was knocked along the seams of the hull as the navigator waded about the canoe, singing his prayer or incantation.

Some of the difference between Sarfert's information and mine is obviously due to the fact that neither of us got the whole story. Part of it, though, probably reflects change in the culture during the thirty-eight years between the two visits. Knowledge of this part of the religious lore was confined to a few even in Sarfert's time (and probably always had been). The invocations to Lauliār, he was told, were known only to two men. Details reported to him in 1909 may well have gone out of use by 1947. This seems

1: Burrows--195-196 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 778, 178 Ifalik

particularly likely in the case of visible emblems of which we saw nothing. It was explicitly stated by Tom of the wooden images formerly used by navigators.

On the other hand, the whole cult of TIlItr may have arisen since Sarfert's visit. This god is not mentioned at all in the German monograph, nor in any of the myths we collected. The only texts that refer specifically to him are the hymn of invocation and a healing prayer or incantation that Gargeligar gave to Spiro. Both are said to have been revealed by the god to Gargeligar, who was not an old man in 1947; and of part of the invocation (but not all that includes mention of TIlItr) it is specifically stated that this was the first revelation. [196]

More substantial than this admittedly conjectural interpretation of differences between the two accounts is the fact that, so far as general patterns of behavior are concerned, they corroborate each other."

1: Burrows--196 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 534, 778 Ifalik 1-2

"One of the most prominent pieces of religious equipment of Ifalik today is obviously recent - a U.S. Navy boatswain's whistle (or, ashore in the United States, a policeman's whistle). Its shrill sound, with a rattle or trill in it because the flow of air is interrupted by a pellet, closely resembles the vocal sound supposed to be the call of a god. Without a whistle, this sound is produced by a prolonged falsetto cry, trilled with the tip of the tongue as in 'rolling an R.' Apparently this vocal symbol is ancient in the culture: in the myth about the lore of seamanship, when the god Seilangi appeared to LangorIk in the form of a bird, he uttered this cry. (Tom, in telling the story, gave a demonstration.) The close resemblance of this call to the sound of a boatswain's whistle made that artifact fit readily into the native culture, but with a meaning very different from what it carries when blown by a Navy boatswain or a traffic policeman. In Linton's terminology, this is a little case of diffusion accelerated by congruity, and accompanied by a change in role and meaning.

Gargeligar had one of these whistles. Its sound at night was usually the first indication to us that the gods were abroad again. Wolpetau, paramount chief, had one too. He held it in his mouth and blew it occasionally during performances of religious dances, when he walked behind the rows of dancers, holding up a bit of tobacco or other little gifts which anyone was privileged to snatch from his hand. The suggestion seems to be that these are gifts of the gods. Attribution of divinity to the chief himself was never suggested, and would surely be denied. For that matter other chiefs, and even commoners, might distribute gifts in that way if they wished. At least once, Tom took that road to the glory he craved.

Another occasion for blowing the whistles was during one of the nightly rehearsals of the *uru* dances. According to an ancient custom, women, muffled from head to foot in cloths, came up behind the dancers, and each put a garland on the head of the man of her choice. The complete wrapping-up was explained as a disguise, so that neither the favored men nor the woman's husband could recognize her. If the husband found out, Tom explained, he would be very angry. This institutionalization of jealousy must be left to Spiro to interpret. As to the religious significance of the whistles, it is diffuse and dim. I got no verbal explanation. All that is sure is that the whole performance, song, dance, and all, is essentially a religious ritual. As already noted, it seems to be taken lightly; and the blowing of the whistles may have no more vital connection with the supernatural than the costumes of ghosts and witches worn by children, among us, at Hallowe'en.

A final use of the whistles may have no religious significance at all. At least two of the whistles were sounded one night - and with them, conch trumpets - from canoes on the lagoon, surrounding a circle of seines in which a school of bonito was impounded. So far as I learned, these were simply noise-makers to frighten the fish and keep them from escaping. As noted in the account of fishing, it did not work. The point here is that these instruments seem to be not restricted to sacred uses."

1: Burrows--196-197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 783, 881, 764 Ifalik

"*Absence of some religious practises on Ifalik 'stands out like a missing tooth.*' Several such gaps appear among the rites of passage. My observation of the individual life cycle was confined to overt group action; but this is enough to justify the statement that there are no public observances connected with birth, or the coming of [197] age of young men, or marriage, comparable to those noted in connection with the coming of age of young women and with death."

1: Burrows--197
116, 846

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"As to birth, it can not be said that this crisis is entirely unaccompanied by ritual. The taboos imposed on the parents and closest relatives constitute ritual precautions. The observance takes this negative form rather than the positive one of a definite rite of passage, such as a birth or naming feast or some more distinctively religious act."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 754 Ifalik

"More striking, and more obviously significant, is the absence on Ifalik of any form of black magic, - sorcery, witchcraft, or whatever it may be called. We both inquired about this repeatedly, in various connections. Sometimes the questions were not even understood. Whenever they were, the idea of any such behavior was rejected with either indignation or amusement. I am confident that this is not a matter of successfully concealing from us existing practise. Surely some accidental bit of evidence would have betrayed any such practises if they existed. In particular, any such emotionally charged complex should have turned up somewhere in more than three hundred song texts; for instance, in laments for the dead, if death was ever attributed to sorcery. Sorcery can confidently be recorded as absent. The only practise at all like it is exorcism of evil spirits. Since evil spirits may be regarded as scapegoats, personifications of evil, the only action appropriate to them, is aggressive. That is a different matter from aggression against other human beings. Not that such aggression is altogether absent. The chiefs' structures show that gossip exists on Ifalik, as elsewhere. But it hardly ever breaks out overtly; and, from all our evidence, never summons supernatural support."

1: Burrows--197
116, 585

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Absence of any wedding ceremony is the most conspicuous gap among rites of passage. This is one of the most nearly universal of all rites; witness the generalization in 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology:' 'Ceremonies mark the difference is marked simply by the young man's coming to live in the household of a girl with whom he has usually been carrying on one of the semi-furtive love affairs expected of all young people. This moving in, to be sure, is more than just a change of residence. It is symbolic, and has to bear all the significance expressed elsewhere by elaborate sacraments and exchanges of property. But without more formal, definitely patterned behavior, it can hardly be construed as a rite. Spiro was told that when a girl is unwilling to accept a suitor he may still win her by offering gifts to her kinsfolk. This suggests the bride-wealth so important in many cultures; but it does not, of course, constitute a wedding ceremony."

1: Burrows--197 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 881, 304 Ifalik

"Specialization on one sex in initiation or coming-of-age rites is not uncommon. But the sex chosen, even in islands relatively close to Ifalik geographically and culturally, is often the male. The writer thinks first of western Polynesia because of previous field work. Initiation rites for young men there cluster about one of the operations loosely called circumcision, or about tattooing, which may itself amount to a rite of passage. But for Ifalik I have no evidence of surgery on the male genitals. Sarfert's informants explicitly denied the existence of any such practise. Tattooing, to be sure, is elaborate, and its origin is attributed to the god Wolfat. (Since this is an art form, a fuller account of it belongs in the forthcoming study of native arts.) But it is optional, and so far as known has always been so. Robertson states explicitly that in the third quarter of the 19th century not all the men were tattooed, and that the practise was in no way compulsory. While rites of passage need not be universally observed, tattooing here is no more than a form of decoration whose use is dictated by individual taste."

1: Burrows--197-198 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 832, 533 Ifalik

"Another gap in the pattern is love magic. Lovemaking is perhaps the dominant [198] interest during the early years of maturity, and this interest is slow to wane. Throughout life, if only by reflection, it is one of the major interests. Study of sexual life was left to Spiro but this point was apparent even in casual observation and conversation. It is reflected, too, in song texts. The very name of the love song and accompanying dance (bwarux) is forbidden in mixed company, itself an indication that the subject is exciting. Yet love songs are the most numerous, and the most frequently heard of any kind of song. There is divination in the course of lovemaking, and it is mentioned in the songs. If there were any attempt to win love by magic, that would undoubtedly be mentioned too."

1: Burrows--198 (1947-48). Woleaians
116, 105 Ifalik

"These gaps in religious behavior can be summed up in the statement that the pattern of rites of passage in Ifalik is a scanty, broken one; and that the people do not use magic on each other. Healing magic may look like an exception to the latter statement. But it is not a real exception, for the magic is aimed at the evil spirits thought to inflict disease rather than at the patient. The gaps in the pattern call for explanation; but that can not be attempted here. The explanation would have to be either historical, or psychological, or both. A historical explanation would necessitate comparison of the customs practised on Ifalik with those of surrounding peoples, a task beyond the scope of this local ethnography. A psychological explanation would require fuller data, of a kind that may be afforded by Spiro's line of inquiry, but not by mine."

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1: Burrows--199 (1947-48) Woleaians
116 Ifalik 1-2

"One of the prime objectives in the comparative study of human cultures, particularly among American anthropologists in recent years, has been that of dominant tendencies which give the people who live by any particular culture a characteristic motivation. Most of these tendencies may be universally human; yet differences in emphasis and phrasing give each culture a bent of its own.

Some of the explorers along this line have attempted to grasp this characteristic bent as a whole. One name for it--used, for example by Bateson and Mead in 'Balinese Character'--is 'ethos'. Ruth Benedict saw it as 'configuration'. Herskovits uses the metaphor, 'focus'. Others list a number of more specific and limited tendencies, for which they use a variety of names. Beaglehole summed up the 'master ideas' of Pukapukan culture. Kluckhohn listed main 'premises' of the Navaho way of life. Morris Opler brought out prevalent 'themes' in Apache and other cultures. The Lynds listed 'values' that make up 'The Middletown Spirit.'

Without attempting a critique of these related terms and concepts, still less aspiring to supersede them, a different label will be used here, --the well-worn term 'sentiment'. It has two advantages. One is that it emphasizes emotional rather than intellectual content. If there is one point on which all students of human behavior agree, it is that motives are powered by emotion rather than thought. The other advantage is that 'sentiment' suggests a complex, comprehensive unit. That is the kind that emerges from this study of the culture of Ifalik.

The term 'sentiment' is often used by social scientists, but usually by way of sketching in a background, without rigorous definition. Shad's 'Foundations of Character' is generally thought of as a pioneering attempt to make scientific use of it. Roethlisberger, Fritz and Dickson have recently used it effectively in 'Management and the Worker'. They acknowledge indebtedness to Radcliffe-Brown ('The Andaman Islanders'): he in turn acknowledges his debt to Durkheim and others of the French sociological school.

The only explicit definition found, in the hasty search that accompanied the formulation of this chapter, is that offered by Radcliffe-Brown in a footnote: 'Sentiment, --an organized system of emotional tendencies centered about some object.' It seems to serve the present purpose. As viewed here, the 'object' about which a sentiment is centered is some rather general interest or activity. The sentiment, then, includes all the emotions, experiences, principles and lore that concern this object. In particular, it involves one or more values, both positive and negative. When directed to some more specific object, sentiments give rise to attitudes."

1: Burrows--199-200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 181 Ifalik 1·2

"What follows is a summary of the sentiments that stand out in the foregoing account of the culture of Ifalik. The list can not pretend to be exhaustive. For example, the sentiment centered about sexual fulfilment is not included, because the sexual life of the people of Ifalik is not included in this study; though the importance of this sentiment was suggested in discussing the absence of a wedding ceremony. Quite unintentionally, the sentiments listed fit the classic formulation of four fundamental human wishes by Thomas and Znaniecki in 'The Polish Peasant in America.' [200]

Seafaring

Seafaring is the object of a sentiment whose strength varies according to sex--being mainly a man's concern--and according to individual character. The importance of this sentiment to the people of Ifalik is attested in most of the foregoing chapters. Canoe-building and navigation are the unrivalled high points of native technology. The principal way for a man to achieve status, as distinguished from inheriting it, is to become a *palū* or navigator. Another way, of somewhat lower rating yet by no means to be despised, is to become a *sennap* or masterbuilder of canoes. Some of the most elaborate myths validate or dignify the lore of navigation and canoe-building. The gods of navigation form a distinct group, equal in number to what I have called the 'high gods', and more clearly differentiated in function. Safety at sea is the object of a relatively rich collection of rituals and incantations.

1: Burrows--199-200 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 181 Ifalik

The fundamental positive value in this sentiment is that of adventure or as Thomas and Znaniecki call it, new experience. Presumably it is enhanced by the negative value of monotony or boredom involved in staying at home. The restricted range of experience available on a tiny atoll is oppressively apparent to a visitor from afar. How keenly the natives feel it is hard to make out. One indication, though, is that the youths who loaf in the canoe-houses never tired of hearing and talking about foreign countries. Conversations turned so incessantly to this subject that my patience soon wore out. Spiro's far outlasted mine, but eventually he, too, began to steer clear of chatting with the youths in the canoe-houses. Moreover, this interest motivates more than talk. Within the limits of their capacity these people still love to roam and see the world.

The most powerful negative value in this sentiment is the fear of death at sea. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for security. It is especially powerful in this culture because their vessels and knowledge of navigation, though admirable in a way, are far inferior to our matchless technology. The risk of seafaring is correspondingly greater. It is probably through fear of losing their menfolk, more than anything else, that women participate in this sentiment. The rituals and incantations for safety at sea are precautions that attest the strength of this fear among men, too. One of the great duties of beneficent gods is to roam the seas, looking for canoes that have gone astray, and bring them back to port."

1: Burrows--200 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 622 Ifalik

"The sentiment of rank is another that kept cropping up in the preceding pages. In the chapter on Social Structure it was evident in the order of rank of the clans; in that on Government, in the order of rank of the chiefs, whose titles confer rank on their clans. Rank may be called the mainstay of the native system of government. It is emphasized in the richest visible symbolism found in the culture, culminating in the front post (*o̍ngarIk*) of the men's house, Katēlū. The public meetings, in addition to their practical functions, serve as rituals to emphasize the dignity of the chiefs and the duty of loyalty to them. One of the strictures apparently common in the chiefs' harangues on these occasions--'Don't talk disparagingly about the people of another clan'--shows how this sentiment can become invidious. There would be no need to forbid such talk if there was none of it."

1: Burrows--200-201 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 771 Ifalik

"Rank figures less prominently in religion than the other sentiments discussed here. That may be because it is a center of less emotional [201] tension. Yet the opportunity to emphasize it afforded by communal rituals was not lost. The chiefs appointed the time for the ceremonies. During the proceedings they sat together, in a prominent position. When Gargeligar reported the admonitions of the god, he included praise of the chiefs and instructions to obey them."

"As already noted, even those who can not claim superiority in the local hierarchy of rank share the glory of outranking other islands. The main point of the legends about depopulation and repopulation of surrounding islands is, in Tom's words 'Ifalik more high.' The most conspicuous visible symbol on the island--the penis of Maur on the front post of the men's house, pointing arrogantly toward Woleai--is a reminder and re-emphasis of the traditional triumph of Ifalik over the neighboring atoll.

The continuing vitality of this aspect of the sentiment of rank was shown by the flurry that attended Spiro's chance remark about the presence of Americans on other islands, doing the same kind of work that we were doing on Ifalik. Without any suggestion from us--at least none that we were aware of--this situation was interpreted as a contest among the islands staged by the Americans. The winning islands would rise in rank, the losing ones would sink. The main thing the Americans wanted of them, so far as the people knew, was cleanliness. This seems to have been the motivation for the first public meeting held during our stay, and the clean-up of the atoll that followed.

Application of the sentiment of rank to Ifalik's acknowledged subordination to Yap, and to the United States, has been considered in the chapter on Foreign Relations. The people seem to 'know their place' and accept it. With regard to Yap, indeed, grumbling is not unknown, as in the song about a hurricane. Another way of getting back at the Yap people, psychologically, for their superior position, may be the prevalent doctrine that Yap men are great liars. The word garpar, name of the village on Yap where the

1: Burrows--201
116, 554, 186

(1947-48)

Woleaians-2
Ifalik

overlords of Ifalik live, is used as a verb, meaning 'to lie'. We did not hear grumbling about the Americans--of course, we wouldn't. No doubt the people would take satisfaction in ridiculing any stupid or clumsy behavior on the part of Americans; but we saw no instance of this. What we did see was on the other, the positive side. One of the high points of interest in the conversations about the outside world with youths in the canoe-houses was the relative military strength of the world powers. The youths--and at times their elders, too--seemed to revel in our accounts of the size and strength of the United States. Apparently they felt that, belonging in some sense to the American commonwealth, they could share in the glory--or rank--conferred by membership in that mighty nation."

1: Burrows--201-202
116, 554, 157

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The positive value of the sentiment of rank, for those whose position is relatively high, is obvious: the satisfaction afforded by a feeling of superiority. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for recognition. The negative value, for those whose position is low, is of course humiliation or a sense of inferiority.

As individual rank is so largely settled by birth, a man can not do much to improve his position. Most of those of rather humble status seemed content with their lot. Presumably Spiro will penetrate into this matter farther than I can. But even the foregoing account, focussed as it is on formal, shared patterns of behavior, has repeatedly shown how two individuals were driven by craving for a higher position than their genealogies [202] allowed them. They are the two most prominent individuals on the atoll, in our eyes, except for the chiefs; and there is some doubt about even that exception--namely, Tom and Gargeligar. Though the writer is by no means qualified to diagnose a neurosis, he can not help pointing out how the behavior of these two resembles the standard picture of an inferiority complex."

1: Burrows--202 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 554, 578, 159 Ifalik 1-2

"Tom had taken the principal way left open in this culture for gaining status, by making himself the leading navigator of the island; and the other, related way, as well, by becoming a master-builder of canoes. But obviously that was not enough for him. His grumbling about the monopoly on turtle meat possessed by Kovalū clan--the only one that outranked his own--is one instance. Several examples have been given of how he seized upon any chance to gain more glory,--notably the incident of getting his name, along with those of the chiefs, on the board to be hung on the front post of the men's house.

Gargeligar had taken the alternative way of making himself the master of ritual and chief spokesman of the most active of the gods. It is even possible that some of the prominence of this god was his doing. He showed his insatiable ambition even more naively than Tom did. Not only was he the most prominent figure on all ceremonial occasions--an eminence that was his due--but during all communal tasks in which he took part, his voice rose louder and longer than any of the rest.

Both men overdid it, and made themselves somewhat ridiculous. Tom's comment on Gargeligar, if discounted for jealousy, expressed a feeling that seemed general. 'Big mouth--big talk', Tom often said of this rival of his; and once; 'He savvy god--no savvy nothing else.' While work was going on, people seemed to pay little attention to Gargeligar's vehement flow of talk, unless to be amused by it. For that matter, Gargeligar accepted to some extent the role of clown. It was Tom who overstepped the

1: Burrows--202 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
~~116~~, 554, 578, 159 Ifalik

limits of his position more objectionably and was more distinctly rebuked. The chiefs' decision, after Tom had got his name on the board, that it should be hung up only when a foreign ship was in port, quietly but decisively put him in his place."

1: Burrows--202-203 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 577, 152 Ifalik 1-2

"A sentiment that in a way counteracts that of rank--at least counteracts any tendency to take advantage of rank by arrogance--is that of kindliness. There is less evidence in the way of formal patterns of behavior to attest the strength of this sentiment than the others. The high value placed on kindliness is probably related to the absence of sorcery, though there is no telling, on the evidence at hand, just what the relationship is.

The particular form of kindliness usually singled out for praise is kindly speech. People are praised for what Tom called 'fine talk'. 'Bad talk' is condemned, and people with a reputation for what we call 'a sharp tongue' are avoided. Or so they say; we never knew an actual instance among this courteous people, who seem to live up to their ideal in this respect amazingly well. Children were sometimes scolded--mostly, so far as I noticed, for a boldness toward us that was considered presumptuous. But the scoldings were mild, as compared with tongue-lashings far from rare in our culture. The only voices I heard raised in serious anger were directed at the psychopath Tarobweliman, whose defiance of the [203] proprieties wore out the patience of his relatives.

People told us repeatedly that they liked us better than the Japanese because of our kindly talk. This was itself a case of the fine talk they value. No doubt there was flattery in it. Yet I think there was truth as well. Naturally our address to them was friendly; a considerable part of our job was to win their confidence and enlist their

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1: Burrows--202-203 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 577, 152 Ifalik

help, without which we could never have worked up more than a superficial account of their culture. Besides, it was no strain to talk kindly to these masters of the soft answer.

Fine talk is particularly important in people who are important themselves; most of all in the chiefs. In discussing succession to chieftainship, I once asked Tom if a man who was first in line of succession to a title might be passed over because of undesirable personal qualities. Without stopping to refer the matter to the chiefs--though they were there to be consulted--Tom said oh, yes; if the heir-apparent was given to bad talk, he would never be considered for the title.

Songs in praise of various chiefs extoll their talk more than anything else, referring especially to the formal speeches at public assemblages. Some of the praise is for oratorical skill; a smooth, rich flow of words, 'like coconut oil'. But the main emphasis is on kindliness. More than one of the songs refers to a belief that if the talk of the chiefs is kindly, the people will thrive and live long; if the talk of the chiefs is harsh, the people will perish. How strong this belief is, I have no way of telling; but it accords so well with this sentiment of kindliness, as expressed particularly in speech, that it is pretty surely more than empty words. The positive value in the sentiment of kindliness is the joy of pleasant human relationships. It corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for response. That wish is also exemplified in the master-sentiment here mentioned only in passing: that of sexual fulfilment."

1: Burrows--203-204 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 753 Ifalik

"Above all, the people of Ifalik want to keep alive and well. So do we all, no doubt; but this sentiment is more poignant with them than with peoples who have better assurance that this wish will be granted. The wish, in the Thomas-Znaniecki list, is for security. The positive values are life, health, and, as a means to that end, plenty of food. The negative values are famine, sickness, and death. A special aspect of the same wish and the same values has already been noted under the sentiment of seafaring, where death may come by shipwreck or by drifting off the course.

The population has been diminishing, and the people know it. The fear of death comes closer home to those who are taken sick themselves or who have sickness in their own families or households. They know too well how often sickness among them is fatal.

This dominant anxiety is abundantly reflected in their religion. The prayers of visiting chiefs from Yap are thought to ensure, above all, abundance of food. The main reasons for invoking TIlItr, as agent of Aluelap, are to ask for counsel in the treatment of sickness; or to bless the medicine prepared to keep off sickness; or to drive off an evil [204] spirit, whose main purpose is supposed to be to inflict sickness; or to assure abundant food, so that people will be healthy. Some diseases are attributed to possession by evil spirits. Indeed, the evil spirits that haunt their thoughts are essentially personifications of the fear of sickness and death."

1: Burrows--204 (1947-48) Woleaians, 1-2
116, 688, 784 Ifalik

"The same preoccupation appears in the following list of penalties thought to follow violation of a taboo:

Misdeed	Punishment
A man enters the birth house-	famine
A man enters a menstrual hut-	one version, starvation; other version, sickness
A man enters a pool for soaking coconut husks-	he will be unable to catch fish for 20 days; so his household will be short of food
Fish caught in a big trap are cooked in a pan-	no more driftwood, no more fish for the big traps; i.e., shortage of food
sexual intercourse during _turu_ fishing, or immediately before trolling-	failure to catch fish; (shortage of food again)
sexual intercourse during early pregnancy, or between birth and walking-	death of the baby
menstruating woman approaches _rongonax_ tree-	typhoon. (Typhoons are followed by famine.)
menstruating woman visits taro patch-	the taro will not thrive

1: Burrows--204
116, 688, 784

(1947-48)

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Misdeed	Punishment
leaving a dead body ashore-	the vegetation will wither, and the people will starve."

1: Burrows--204-205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 152, 262 Ifalik

"The object of the ritual which only Maroligar can perform is to ensure abundant food. Divination is more often to learn the outcome of sickness, or what evil spirit inflicted it--so that he can be exorcised-- than for anything else.

The high value of food is emphasized in the chiefs' talks to the people. A related value, industry, is prized mainly as a means to abundance of food; 'If you do not work, there will be no food.' The people are exhorted not to steal, --especially not to steal food. They are urged to share--share food especially--with those who lack it, and with the sick.

There is a positive side to the value placed on food. The custom of concluding every communal task, and every ceremony in which all the people take part, with a feast, is evidence of that. The offering to [205] the gods at the beginning of such feasts may be a precaution, but may well have a more positive tone, that of inviting the gods, in token of good will and thankfulness, to share the people's bounty. Tom was fond of saying that Ifalik has plenty of food. So it has, as far as coconuts and pulax go; but the supply of breadfruit depends upon the season, and that of fish is rather scanty."

1: Burrows--205 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 262, 152, 751 Ifalik

"Food and sickness are discussed as parts of the same sentiment, not so much because of the close connection in our minds between nutrition and health, but because the people themselves make such a connection, if not in the same way as we do. Feeding is a favorite treatment in case of sickness. The text of a song of lament says:

He was suddenly taken sick.
I am afraid he is hungry.

A common theme in laments for dead children can be phrased like this: 'Why did he die? I gave him the best of food, so that he would grow big and strong.'

A commonplace in the interpretation of folklore is that it may reflect past rather than present conditions. For example, the setting of our fairy tales is the life of European peasants in the Middle Ages or earlier. It may be that the emphasis on food just brought out reflects an anxiety that was stronger in the past, when the population was larger, than it is now. But there is no indication that the anxiety over sickness has diminished. On the contrary, since greater contact with foreigners has brought new diseases, it seems likely that this anxiety is stronger now than ever. The bright side of the picture is the prospect that the people of Ifalik and the islands round about will increasingly get the benefit of American medical skill. That may well brighten the tone, and relieve some of the tension, of this strongest of their sentiments."

1: Burrows--206 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 197 Ifalik

"The native language of Ifalik is assigned by linguists to the Melanesian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian linguistic stock. It is identical, or nearly identical, with that of the immediately surrounding islands--Woleai, Lamotrek, Faraulep, Eaurupik, and (informants say) Sorol and Ngulu, (called on Ifalik Ngolu). Differences are apparent between this Ifalik (or Woleai) dialect and that of Fais and Ulithi to the northwest, but they are slight. Differences are apparent as near as Satawal to the east, but the people of Ifalik say they have no difficulty in conversing with the people of islands as far as Puluwat, nor even with those of Truk, though there the difference becomes substantial.

The language of Ifalik and that of Yap, however, are not mutually comprehensible, from all accounts. Many people of Ifalik can converse with those of Yap, particularly with their acknowledged overlords in Garpar (Gatschapar) village of Gagil district. But this means that one or other party to the conversation has learned a foreign language."

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 194 Ifalik 1-8

"The orthography used in this report has been adapted from those used by Sam H. Elbert for other islands in the Carolines, and is limited to characters readily made on an ordinary typewriter. It is not consistently phonemic, for the task of working out the phonemes, though begun, was not completed. Nor is the spelling entirely consistent.

The phonemes in use are relatively few. This very fact renders fine distinctions unnecessary in many cases, and a number of the phonemes are pronounced indifferently in several ways which, to speakers of English, are quite distinct. The most widely known of these phonemes of wide range is that which includes l and n, because it has been found on other islands, including Truk. In Ifalik, too, l and n are interchangeable except when prolonged or 'doubled.' Limen, the name of a kind of fish, can as well be pronounced nimel, limel, or nimen, as nearly as I could make out. There does seem to be some tendency to prefer one of these alternative sounds to the other in some combinations; but to determine just what this tendency amounted to would have been a time-consuming task, at which the writer was inexperienced; so it was not attempted. It is clear, at least, that the 'doubled' consonants are not interchangeable. The one most commonly doubled is n. The word féngenni, 'together', is never heard as fëngelli. Nor is Ella, name of an uninhabited islet on the atoll, ever pronounced Ennā.

Some other phonemes of wide range are the following:

k - g - y - These three palatal sounds -- an unvoiced stop, a voiced stop, and a spirant -- seem interchangeable in initial position. All are sounded very lightly;

thus the word for clan was recorded as ailang for some time before the presence of this initial sound became unmistakable, and the spelling was changed to kailang. The name for the men's house was first recorded as Atelu, later as both Katelu and Gatelu (the G more or less spirantalized). In inter- [207] vocalic position the voiced form is usual, perhaps invariable. It is most commonly a spirant, but is sometimes pronounced so briefly as to sound like a stop. In rapid speech it may be elided; thus lago was often heard as lao. In final position the unvoiced stop seems invariable. The change according to position is tested by the usual practise of dropping final vowels. Thus, the full name of the atoll we spell as Ifalik seems to be Ifalugu, a form recorded only in song texts. It is usually pronounced Ifalo̍k; in final position the stop is unvoiced; the sound of the vowel also changes. Similarly, the full name of the island we call Truk seems to be Trugu or Rugu (again recorded only in song texts); but it is pronounced Tro̍k or Ro̍k.

s, z, sh, j - There seems to be but one sibilant phoneme, which can be pronounced in any of four ways. Thus the word sari, 'child', was recorded as sari, zari, and jari. The sound written as j is like French j, or English si in 'occasion'. This sound is especially favored in songs, but is not uncommon in ordinary speech. The sound sh was noted only in final position; perhaps a matter of unvoicing the j when a final vowel is not sounded.

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 194 Ifalik

r, tr, ɹ - The basic pronunciation of this trill-plus phoneme, and perhaps the most frequently heard, is a simple lingual trill. But when the utterance is begun with the tongue in contact with the teeth and hard palate, it is heard as tr, with an initial stop. This is interchangeable with the simple trill in any position, though one form or other seems commonest in some combinations. This is one of the points at which the spelling used is not phonemic, the sound being written as most frequently heard. The third sound is less frequent, yet is the commonest in some combinations, usually in final position. Thus the word mauar (goodwill of any kind; like Hawaiian aloha) was first heard as mauas, though the final s seemed a little queer. More careful observation was induced by occasional hearing of a final trill in this word and in one other, the name of the boy assigned by the chiefs as our helper, Talimeira. We pronounced this at first as Talimeija (j as in joy): but after hearing it occasionally as a trill, careful listening brought out the apical spirant. It seems describable as an attempt at a trill, not pronounced energetically enough to make the tongue flap.

a, ă, - A as in father and a as in hat seem interchangeable. Emphasis appears to pull the sound toward ă. The emphatic, prolonged pronunciation of this sound gives a feline, caterwauling effect to overheard conversations. Here again the spelling is not phonemic. Because of doubt as to whether these two sounds were one phoneme, words are spelled with the sound most frequently heard. [208]

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 194 Ifalik

On the other hand, the language consistently makes some distinctions that seem rather fine to the ears of speakers of English. One of these is between w and bw. W is like English w, but sounded very lightly in initial position. The German Sarfert, for example, did not hear it, but wrote Oleai where we write Woleai, Olofat where I write Wolfat. The bw is a voiced spirant, very like a voiced English 'wh'. The fact that the native language distinguishes between the two is beyond doubt. For example, wong means turtle; bwong, night. Another fine distinction is between m (like English m) and mw (an m with rounded lips). The range of sound in vowel phonemes seems in general narrower than in consonant ones, and some of the distinctions observed are difficult for speakers of English. It can not be asserted that the spelling of vowels here is infallible.

The language does not tolerate juxtaposition of consonants. Whereever two consonants are written together, a vowel must be sounded between them. The vowel used is the 'neutral' one often written ə; like English a in 'unapproachable'. (Consonants were written together when the vowel between was not considered phonemic; but this conclusion is vulnerable.

Final vowels are not pronounced unless they are prolonged, or the word is followed by one beginning with a consonant. Even in the latter case, the sound heard is as often the neutral vowel as whatever the final one would be in the complete form. A number of the words written with a final consonant probably have an additional final vowel which was never heard. The kind of systematic linguistic study that would have been necessary to identify all final vowels was not undertaken.

With this much by way of preliminary explanation and apology, a list of the characters used in writing native words, with the meanings intended, follows:

Vowels

i - like English 'ee' in 'meek'.

I - like English 'i' in 'hit.' Whether this is a distinct phoneme from the preceding one is not certain, but its pronunciation seemed consistent.

e - like English 'e' in 'egg'.

e̍ - like French 'e muet'; or like 'u' in 'ugly' but with lips rounded.

ĕ - back, high, unrounded. Not found in English.

a - like English 'a' in 'father'.

ă - like English 'a' in 'hat'. Seems interchangeable with the preceding in many combinations, but others were heard only in the one way.

o - apparently variable, from like English 'aw' in 'law' to more like British-English 'o' in 'got'.

o̍ - like English 'oo' in 'wool'.

u - like English 'oo' in 'boot'. Interchangeable with the preceding in some cases, as rowo̍t - rowut. Dropping a final vowel, which unvoices the preceding stop, will change the vowel before that from 'u' to 'o̍'. [209] Thus 'Ifalugu' becomes, 'Ifalo̍k'.

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 194 Ifalik

u̍ - front, lower high, rounded. Not found in English. Like the 'i' of 'it', pronounced with rounded lips.

y - like English 'u' in 'ugly'. In some cases seens interchangeable with 'a'. The 'neutral' vowel, inserted between consonants, is also very like this.

Most of these vowels, perhaps all of them, occur successively. In this case, unlike English diphthongs, both retain about equal duration and emphasis.

Stops

Never aspirated or glottalized.

p - like English 'p' in 'lip' or 'apparatus'; not like the aspirated 'p' of English 'peak'.

pw - rare. Noted only in lipwaix, a kind of fish, and ganipwa, a kind of taro.

kk - like English 'k', but prolonged. Rare.

Stop-Spirant

k - g - As already noted, three sounds seem included in one phoneme; an unvoiced stop like English 'k' (unaspirated), a voiced stop like English 'g', and a spirant usually written phonetically with a gamma. Because of doubt as to whether 'k' and 'g' were always interchangeable, both letters were retained in use. There seems to be no doubt that the stop and the spirant written as 'g' are interchangeable.

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians-7
116, 194 Ifalik

Spirants

bw - bilabial, voiced, rounded; like a voiced utterance of English 'wh'.

w - like English 'w'; lightly sounded in initial position.

f - like English 'f' or 'v'; the voiced and unvoiced forms appear interchangeable.

s, z, sh, j - the point that these four sounds seem interchangeable has already been discussed. Because of some remaining doubt as to whether this is always so, they have been written as most frequently heard or, when that was in doubt, as 's'.

x - like German 'ch' in 'ach', or Spanish 'j'.

Nasals

m - like English 'm'.

mw - like an 'm' pronounced with rounded lips. [210]

nn - like English 'n', but prolonged.

ng - like English 'ng' in 'sing', 'winging', but occurs also in initial position.

Nasal-lateral

n - l - these two sounds, like those written with these letters in English, but farther forward (dental), are interchangeable. There seems to be a tendency to favor one or other in some combinations -- for example, the name 'Tarobweliman' was never heard as 'Tarobwenimal' - but in most cases no preference could be noted.

1: Burrows--206-210 (1947-48) Woleaians-8
116, 194 Ifalik

The writing here is as inconsistent as the pronunciation. Words are recorded as most frequently heard, or first heard; but any l can as well be an n, so far as determined.

Lateral

ll - the lateral is not often doubles, but when it is, it is no longer interchangeable with 'n'.

Trill-Spirant

r, tr - the three sounds included in this phoneme have already been discussed. Again the spelling is variable, like the pronunciation, with some attempt to record the trill as most frequently heard, but no way to write the spirant."

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-18
116, 192 Ifalik

"The following list contains mostly words of rather general application. Some more specific or technical bits of vocabulary, given in the text, are not repeated here: numerals, names of plants and animals, and of kinds of turtle meat under Geography (some of the commonest species are repeated below); names of the parts of canoe, house, and loom, and of stars (navigation), under Technology: kinship terms -- which have no exact English equivalents -- under Social Structure.

IFALIK TO ENGLISH

ai - you (2d person plural before verb)
al - sun
ä̆l - road
alax - talk, say, speak
aleal - spoon (of green coconut husk)
alu̍s - god, demon
amann - finished
angi - wind
aramat - man, human being
aramatakaua - somebody
arot - finished
ä̆ting - seine, fishing with seine

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 192 Ifalik

arío - still fishing, without pole
arŭerŭ - lament, for the dead
aseal - pregnancy
aso - thatch
asogili - thatch of cured leaf
atiligetau - latch to fasten wall mats
atolief - wick, twisted like rope from crude coconut husk
atuafang - north-east wind
aúlap - much (of food)
aulóng - surf
auralap - south wind

bugum - anus [212]
bwa - if
bwames - moribund
bwarux - serenade (song and dance)
bwău - angling
bwei - kind of divination with coconut leaf
bwél - taro swamp

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 192 Ifalik

bwe̍rbwe̍r - white
bwitog - come
bwogotai - (my) hereditary land
bwyng - heavy

ea̍ - fishing line (made of gilivō, hibiscus bast)
ebo̍ng - broken bone
egakatik - lie
ega̍rep - near
elepan - loin-cloth
engang - work (general) may be solitary
erotr - dark
eteram - light
etrau̍al tamae - deathly sick
evangelap - north wind
ewai - mouth
ewe̍s - old

fal pai - (my) armpit
faleval - make a canoe

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 192 Ifalik

falŭ - land (island)
fan - work house or storehouse
fan nap - men's house
fan ni wă - canoe house
far (fatr) - pandanus [213]
fä̆s - laugh
fatevä̆t - thatch a house
fatọgi - to plant
fä̆to̍l - paddle
fä̆tul - eyebrows
faumax - coral gravel
fe - intercourse, sexual
fĕngenni - together
fσ - new
fo̍ti - nose

gafitag - same
gai - penis
gajebwo̍n - very short
gajĭ - bring

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 192 Ifalik

gajitok - bring
galola - urine
gami - you (pl)
ganei - give (to the speaker)
ganeu - give (to another)
gang - me, I
gapengpeng - invocation of a god by song and dance
gato - basket, round, with handle, to hold bowl
gatrepar - lie (from Gatschapar, a village in Yap)
gatru - happy
gel - you
gelago - dog
geligeli - weed a garden
gesebwal - wind (when aboard a canoe)
gili - mat (sitting)
gilivo - Hibiscus tiliaceus [214]
gilixa - pox? (sickness involving red spots on the body)
gir - we
gitigit - little, small
golgol - cord

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 192 Ifalik

gomware - sweetheart
gorōro - blue
guruguru - staff, walking-stick

ia - why
ia rigerik - tried
iauru - south
iät - up
ievang - north
ig - fish
igan - there (not far)
igei - here
igelan - there (far)
ikolevo - chills
ilalo - down
iletoru - west wind
im - house (dwelling)
imailolo - nausea
im mutumae - menstrual hut
ire - he

1: Burrows--211,222 (1947-48) Woleaians-7
116, 192 Ifalik

ire - they
itagula - perhaps
ivă - where
iwa - that's it (it is in the right place)
izamet - enough (of food) [215]
jatok - give (me)
joköt - little (of food)

kailang - clan
katiri - fast
kauerei - fishing with, or going about with turu, coconut leaf torch
kepalepan - loin-cloth
kepăt - talk, say, speak
kepătepăt - talk, say, speak
kĕri - rat
ketagumwaliel - turn (oneself around)
ko - fish hook
korrou - rain
ko̍tu - east wind

lago - go
langi - sky
lap - big, much
legao - female baby
leguliwor - ocean (outside the reef)
ligett - all gone
lip - pit (hole)
lo - big wave (tidal?)
lalai - long
loko - broom made of coconut leaflet midrib
lu (nu) - coconut
luei - tongue
lugu - within, inside (of)

ma - from
mageru - backrest stone [216]
magetox - assemble
mäi - breadfruit
mako - tatooing, tattooed
makulong - northward (on land - toward FalārIk)

l: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-9
116, 192 Ifalik

malemin - hurricane
māliel - thick
malieli - talk (in general)
malivilīf - thin
malo̍k - chicken, fowl; malo̍k rowot, hen; malo̍k nwal, rooster
mălu - weak
malu li pei - (my) elbow joint
malu li perei - back of (my) knee
maluelu - slow
malŭm - cooking shed
maniling - cloud
māringeri - hard (stiff)
marmar - garland
masetra - dysentery? (blood in the feces)
mătotiu - sit
mauar - good-will
mazūr - sleep
melē - this
melekaua - something
melmo̍rok - thief

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-10
116, 192 Ifalik

mennā - that
mennaxo - drift off the course
mesetat - sea-sickness
mesilipik - epidemic; also, name of a spirit blamed for certain diseases
metā - what
metag - pain [217]
metagtrimwei - sick in the head, headache
metai - (my) eye, (my) face
metala tut - nipple
metamasuro - blind
metär - lagoon side
metōtu - buttocks
mezoazou - strong (wind)
mizelök - seaward side
mo̍ngō - eat
morumor - short

na - to, toward
namo - lagoon
namu - mosquito

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-11
116, 192 Ifalik

nangeta - famine
nau - tomorrow
ngi - teeth
ngolu - ghost
ni - in
nibwe̍l - taro patch
nijor - mo̩rning
nijor a nau - tomorrow morning
niwel - wood or bush

o̩ae - (my) lip
onremai - (my) hair
owai - fishing spear

pa - bonito hook
pag - feces
pai - (my) arm
palū - navigator, captain (of a canoe) [218]
pät - thunder
paula - hole

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-12
116, 192 Ifalik

paúla - arm
pegInni - dark cloud
pei - sand
pelaperaliperei - (my) foot
perei - (my) leg
perou - beach sandstone
petrau - hungry
pulax - swamp taro

rag - season (5 months)
ral - fresh water
ran - day
rang rang - flame colored
rannu - soft
re - they (before a verb)
rere - message
retrá - red
retralo - black
rewa - comb
rouro - yaws

1: Burrows--211-222
116, 192

(1947-48)

Woleaians-13
Ifalik

rowo̍t - woman
ru - upon, in (a canoe)

sa - tide
sa gunetox - incoming tide
sa pŏretox - high tide
sa wat - low tide
sagai - (my) belly
saīpē - fan (pandanus) [219]
salax - go
sames - die
sangau - sad
sari - child
sari mwa̩n - little boy
sari rowo̍t - little girl
sekut ma sekut - easy
semet e la - it is different
sennap - master-builder
seu e̩ la - same
shewoshu - to grate (food)

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-14
116, 192 Ifalik

shugu - to pound (taro)
si - we (1st person plural inclusive)
sirō - hog, pig
si wolei langi - hurricane
si wólei malemin - hurricane
sibelawe - secret intercourse in the bush
siugao - male baby
siutax - stand
sopál - large adz
sor - talk, converse

taali - rope, large
tabw - taboq, forbidden
tabwol i velu - cape, or point of land
tagale mailap - east
tagolu - back
taif - house platform
taĭkole - eyebrows
tal - dream [220]
tamae - sick

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-15
116, 192 Ifalik

tamo̍l - chief
tangi - cry
taoro - pass (in and out of lagoon)
tapei - wooden bowl
tar - none, nothing
taramei - overcast sky
tari mwan - a youth
tat - salt water
tău - far
taubwo̍ng bwo̍ng - master of ceremonies, 'priest'
taui - conch shell, conch shell trumpet
tautavē - healer, (native)
tavē - medicine
tawol - land's end
temwau - sick, nauseated
tĕ̈r - native cloth, woven on loom
tera - throw
teraia - throw-net
tetar - throw
tibwe - lower, descent; (of a god) descent to earth, take possession of a man

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-16
116, 192 Ifalik

tingi - vagina
toai bwyng - light (in weight)
tobore - drill, (spun by hand)
topoxau - mat (sitting)
trau - heavy
trelá - small adz
trélwá - hat of pandanus leaf
tribw - divination with coconut leaf [221]
trimẉei - (my) head
triwérép - bay
trou - big scoop net
tru - bone
tubwu - sets (of sun or star)
tubwuli mailap - west
tufai - old person
tufai mwạl - old man
tufai rowót - old woman
turu - coconut leaf torch
tut - breast
tutu - wash

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-17
116, 192 Ifalik

ųmu - earth oven
unn - green
urur sari - play-pen for baby

vagilito̍k - find
.väu - stone
veivei - same
verugit - big, much
vori - make, do
vo̍rovo̍r - turtle shell
vus - star

wā̩ - canoe
wait - trolling
wa̩ngevale - set a post
we̩nëng - far up, aloft
wẹrIkar - hard (difficult)
we̍tau - basket [222]
wIr - banana
wo̍lwo̍l - vegetation, plant, wood

1: Burrows--211-222 (1947-48) Woleaians-18
116, 192 Ifalik

wo̍rawo̍ra - lightning
wot - taro (true taro)
wotr - reef

xai - we (1st person plural exclusive)
xauolotiu - put, place"

1: Burrows--223-234
116, 192

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik 1-19

"adz, large - sopa̍l
adz, small - trela̍
aloft - we̍nĕng
angling - bwău (see also bamboo)
anus - bugum
arm - pau̍la
arm (my) - pai
armpit (my) - fal pai
assemble - magetox

baby, female - legao
baby, male - siugao
back - tagolu
backrest stone - mageru
bamboo - bwău
banana - wIr
basket - we̍tau
basket, round - gato (go hold bowl)
bay (identation in coast) - triwe̍re̍p
belly (my) - sagai

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 192 Ifalik

big - lap, verugit
black - retralo
blind - metamasuro
blue - gorōro
bone - tru
bonito hook - pa
bowl, wooden - tapei
boy, little - sari mwan
bread fruit - măi
breast - tut [224]
bring - gajī, gajitok
broom - loko
builder, master - sennap
buttocks - metōtu

canoe - wā
canoe house - fan ni wā
canoe making - faleval
cape (point of land) - tabwol i velu̍
captain (of a canoe) - palū

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 192 Ifalik

chicken - malo̍k; hen, malo̍k rowo̍t; rooster, mwalo̍k mwal
chief - tamo̍l
child - sari
clan - kailang
cloth, native - tër
cloud - maniling
cloud, dark - pegInni
coconut - lu (nu)
comb - rewa
come - bwitog
conch shell - taui
conch trumpet - taui
converse - sor
cooking shed - malūm
cord - golgol
cry - tangi

dark - erotr
day - ran
demon - alu̍s [225]

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 192 Ifalik

→

descend - tibwe
die - sames
different - se̩met e la
difficult – werIkar
disease - tamae: backache, tagumol; stomach-ache, metagiseni; sore leg, metag i leperei; broken bone, ebong; cut, kopitok; chills, ikolevo; fever, isamesilibwex; dysentery (? blood in the feces) masetra; 'red spots on the body', gilixa; sea-sickness, mesetat; yaws, rouro
divination - bwei, tribw
dizziness - maliel
do - vori
dog - gelago
down - ilalo
dream - tal
drift - mennaxo
drill, hand - tobore

east - tagale mailap
easy - s̩ekut ma sekut
eat - mo̩ngō

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 192 Ifalik

elbow (my) - malu li pei
enough (of food) - izamet
epidemic - mesilipik, masen
eye (my) - metai
eyebrows - fätul, taikole

face (my) - metai
famine - nangeta
fan, (pandanus) - saipē̍
far - täu
fast - katiri [226]
feces - pag
find - vagilito̍k
finished - amann, arot
fish - ig
fish hook - ko
fishing, seine - äting
fishing, still - ari̍o
fishing, torch - kauerei
fishing line - ea̍

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-6
116, 192 Ifalik

→

flame colored - rang rang
foot (my) - pelaperaliperei
forbidden - tabw
fowl - malo̍k
from - ma

garland - marmar
ghost - ngolu
girl, little - sari rowo̍t
give (to the speaker) - ganei, jatok
give (to another) - ganeu
go - lagọ, salax
god - a̍lus
gone, all - ligetī
good-will - mauar
grate (food) - shewo̍shu
gravel, çoral - faumax
green - unn

hair - o̍nremai

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-7
116, 192 Ifalik

happy - gatru [227]
hard (difficult) - werIkar
hard (stiff) - māringeri
hat (of pandanus leaf) - trelwá
hau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) - gilivō
he - ire
head (my) - trimwei
headache - metag trimwei
healer, native - tautavē
heavy - bwyng, trau
here - igei
hog - sirō
hole - paula
hook, bonito - pa
hook, fish - ko
house, dwelling - im
house, canoe - fan ni wā
house, men's - fan ŋap
house, store--fan
house, work--fan

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-8
116, 192 Ifalik

house platform - taif
human being - aramat
hungry - petrau
hurricane - malemin, si wölei langi, si wölei mal emin

I - gang; (before a verb), i
if - bwa
in - ni
in (a canoe) - ru
inside of - lugu (the distinction between this and 'ni' not clear) [228]
intercourse, sexual - fe
intercourse, sexual (secret in the bush) - sibelawe
invocation (of a god by song and dance) - gapengpeng

knee, back of (my) - malu li perei

lagoon - namo
lagoon side - metăr
lament - arūerū
land (island) - falū

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-9
116, 192 Ifalik

land (hereditary plot, my) - bwogotai
land's end - tawol
latch (to fasten wall mats) - atiligetau
laugh - fäs
leg (my) - perei
lie - egakatik, gatrepar (from Gatschapar, a village in Yap)
light - eteram
light (in weight) - toai bwyng
lightning - worawo̍ra
lip - oae
little - gitigit
little (of food) - joko̍t
loin-cloth - elepan, kepalepan
long - lalai
lower - tibwe

make - vori
man - aramat
man, old - tufai mwal
massage - re̍re

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-10
116, 192 Ifalik

master of ceremonies - taubwingbwing [229]
mat (sitting) - gili, topoxau
me - gang
medicine - tavē
menstrual hut - im mutumae
moribund - bwames
morning - nijor
morning, tomorrow - nijor a nau
mosquito - namu
mouth (my) - ewai
much - lap, verugit
much (of food) - aulap

nausea - imailolo
nauseated - temwau
navigator- palū
near - egárep
net, throw - teraia
net, scoop - trou
new - fo

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-11
116, 192 Ifalik

nipple - metala tut
none - tar
north - ievang
northward (on land toward FalărIk) - makulóng
nose - fóti
nothing - tar

ocean (outside of reef) - leguliwor (? this term in doubt)
old - ewés
oven (earth) - umu

paddle - fătól [230]
pain - metag
pandanus - far (fatr)
pass (in and out of lagoon) - taoro
penis - gai
perhaps - itagula
person, old - tufai
pig - sirō
pit (hole) - lip

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-12
~~116~~, 192 Ifalik

place (v.) - xauolotiu
plant - wolwo̍l
plant (v.) - fatogi
platform, house - taif
play-pen - urur sari
pound (taro) - shugu
pregnance - aseal
priest - taubwongbwo̍ng
put - xauolotiu

rain - korrou
rat - këri
red - retrá
reef - wotr
road - äl
rope, large - taali

sad - sangau
same - gafitag, seu e la, veivei
sand - pei

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-13
~~116~~ 192 Ifalik

sandstone, beach - perou
say - alax, kepät, kepätepät [231]
scoop net - trou
season (5 months) - rag
seaward side - mizelo̍k
seine - äting
serenade (song and dance) - bwarux
set (a post) - wangevale
sets (of sun or star) - tubwu
shell, conch - taui
short - morumor
short, very - gajebwo̍n
sick - tame, temwau
sick, deathly - etraual tamae
sit - mätotiu
sky - langi
sky, overcast - taramei
sleep - mazūr
slow - maluelu
small - gitigit

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-14
116, 192 Ifalik

soft - rannu
somebody - aramatakaua
something (nearby) - melekaua
south - iäuru
speak - alax, kepät, kepätepät
spear, fishing - owai
spoon (of green coconut husk) - aleal
staff - guruguru
stand - siutax
star - vu̍s
stone - väu
strong (wind) - mezoazou [232]
sun - al
surf - aulo̍ng
sweetheart - gomware

taboo - tabw
talk - alax, kepät, kepätepät, sor
talk (general) - malieli
taro (true taro) - wot

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-15
116, 192 Ifalik

taro (swamp taro) - pulax
taro patch - bwe̍l, nibwe̍l
tattoed, tattooing - mako
tattooing, specialist in - taupotu
teeth - ngi
that - mennā
thatch - aso
thatch (of cured leaf) - asogili
thatch (v.) - fateṿät
that's it - iwa
there (far) - igelan
there (not far) - igan
they - ire
they (before a verb) - re
thick - māliel
thief - melmo̍rok
thin - malivilIf
this - melē
throw - tera, tetar
throw-net - teraia

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-16
116, 192 Ifalik

thunder - pät
tide - sa [233]
tide, incoming - sa gunetox
tide, high - sa pörctox
tide, low - sa wat
tired - iã ri̍geri̍k
to - na
together - fëng̩enni
tomorrow - nau
tongue (my) - luei
torch, coconut leaf - turu
toward - na
trolling - wait
trumpet, conch - taùi
turn (oneself ar̩ound̩) - ketagumwaliel
turtle shell - vorovor

up - iät
up, (far) - we̍ne̍ng
upon - ru

1: Burrows--223-234
116, 192

(1947-48)

Woleaians-17
Ifalik

urine - galola

vagina - tingi
vegetation - wo̍lwo̍l

wailing (for the dead) - tangi
walking-stick - guruguru
wash - tutu
water, fresh - ral
water, salt - tat
wave, big (tidal?) - lo̍
we - gir
we (inclusive) - si
we (exclusive) - xai [234]
weak - mälu
weed (v.) - geligeli
west - tubwuli mailap
what - metā
where - ivā
white - bwe̍rbwe̍r

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-18
116, 192 Ifalik

why - ia
wick (twisted from crude coconut husk) - atolief
wind - angi
wind (when aboard a canoe) - gesebwal
wind, east - ko̍tu
wind, north - evangelap
wind, northeast - atuafang
wind, south - auralap
wind, west - lletpru
within - lu̩gu̩
wood - wolwol
woods - niwel
woman - rowo̍t
woman, old - tufai rowo̍t
work (general) - engang

yaws - rouro
you - gel
you (pl.) - gami

1: Burrows--223-234 (1947-48) Woleaians-19
116, 192 Ifalik

you (pl. before verb) - ai
youth, a - tari mwan"

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 487, 502 Ifalik 1-13

"Appendix II. Further Sailing Directions.

A. Ifalik to Faraulep & Return

Guiding Stars - Wo̍lwo̍l, due north, indicates the true direction. But because of prevailing currents, take first Tagalemailepalevang (on the chart as (Tagali) Mailapelivang) for 4 miles; then Tubwulemailepalevang for 1 mile; then Wolwol. After following Wolwol for 1 1/2 miles, Faraulep should be sighted.

Rear Sight - Keep Ella just touching the northwestern tip of Falārʼik.

Bird - If a metalipangerāle, with long tail feathers, is sighted, the canoe is off its course. Then the star Ulu (whether rising or setting not stated) will bring it in to Faraulep.

Fish - If a shark is sighted, follow the star Metremeiat.

Stars for Return Trip - The star indicating the true direction is Wo̍lwo̍l. To allow for currents, take first Metremeiat for 4 miles; then Metremeital for 1 mile. From there, Wolwol will fetch Ifalik.

B. Guiding Stars, Faiau to Ifalik.

Metremeital for 5 miles; then Tubwulemetara (on chart as (Tubwu li) Metarua) for 2 miles; then Tubwul'Ipu for 2 miles. This will bring the canoe in sight of Ifalik.

C. Rear Sights for Voyage from Ifalik to Lamotrek.

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians-2
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

Put Ella just touching the end of the long stone pier on Falālap.

On the return trip, put the islet Falaite just touching the north end of Valipi.

D. Courses from Yap to Ifalik, with Intermediate Stops

First course: 1. Yap to Ulithi; guiding star, Tagal'ulu.
2. Ulithi to Fais; Tagalielieli.
3. Fais to Woleai; Tagatumūra.
4. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Second Course: 1. Yap to Sorol, Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Woleai; Tagalielieli.
3. Woleai to Ifalik; Tagalielieli.

Third Course: 1. Yap to Sorol; Tagalielieli.
2. Sorol to Eaurupik; Tagatumūra.
3. Eaurupik to Woleai; Tagalimēl.

To sail from Ifalik to Yap, the preferred course is by way of Woleai and Sorol. The star Tubwul'ūlu is followed the whole way.

E. Courses from Truk to Ifalik. [236]

First Course: 1. Truk to Satawan, Tubwulimailap.
2. Satawan to Ifalik, Tubwulimailap.

Second Course (recommended because gaps are shorter):
1. Truk to Puluwat; Tubwul'ūlu; (2 nights).

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians-3
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

2. Puluwat to Satawan; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).
3. Satawan to Lamotrek; Tubwul'ūlu (1 night).
4. Lamotrek to Elato; Tubwul'ūlu (1/2 day; these islands are in sight of each other.)
5. Elato to Ifalik; Tubwulielieli; (1 night).

F. Courses from Ifalik to Truk.

First Course: Ifalik to Satawan, Satawan to Truk; Tagalimailap the whole way.

Second Course (recommended because distances are shorter).

1. Ifalik to Elato; Tagal'ulu.
2. Elato to Lamotrek; by day, in sight; by night, Tagalielieli.
3. Lamotrek to Satawan; Tagalielieli.
4. Puluwat to Souk; Wolwol. (Why this detour to the south?)
5. Souk to Truk; Tagal'ūlu. [237]

G. From Woleai.

Tagaliwileugo - Faraulep.
Tagalimailap - Vasulos (reef).
Tagalielieli - Ifalik.
Tagalitumūr - Moroe (reef).
Tubwulitumūr - Aurupik.

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians-4
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

Tubwusarabwol-Buguelueluarem (reef). On the way, one man o' war bird.

Tubwulūlu-Sorol.
Tubwulimwarigari-Ulithi.
Tubwulimēl-Fais. (One of the Ifalik dance songs, the Peiran of Falālap, disagrees. According to its text, the star Tubwulimwarigari will bring a canoe from Woleai to the rock Rimwelivarougoue in Fais.)

H. From Faraulep.

Tagalimailap e li vang -Saipan.
Tagaliwileugo - 1 fish, gapīle.
TagaliugilIk - 1 big fish - seu etag.
Tagalimēl - Faiau.
Pauievang - Kalūa (small reef).
Tagalimailap - Religousām - (reef).
Tagalielieli - one man o' war bird, (called in 'captain's language' neurevas.)
Tagatumūr - Trimaliwelibwugu (reef); farther, Olimarao.
TagalIpu - 2 whales, ualeliga jewetoxu.

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians-5
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

Mẹtrẹmeiat - Vasu'ós (reef).
Wólwól li Iaūru - Ifalik. [238]
Tubwul'Ipu - Woleai.
Metārua - 20 porpoises, guatrIk.
Tubwulieliẹli - 1 bird with long tail-feathers, metalipangerele;
Sorol.
Tubwulimailap - 1 whale, ualimen.
Tubwul'ūlu - 1 red fish, ig i seram; Fais.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 shark, trĪmeijou, with 2 small fish, sIlelīa,
'under his arm'; 2 big black diving birds, igotōro.
Wólwól li Ievang--many small black birds, asúval; Guam.

I. From Faiau.

Tagalimailap e li vang - Trilial (tinian).
Tagaliwileugo - Saipan.
Tagalimēl - Tipipi (uninhabited island).
Tagal ' ūl - Tipapa (uninhabited island).
Tagalimailap - Getūa.
Tagalipauiaūru - 1 shark, laigelalo; his head keeps coming out
of water.
Tagalielieli - Pigēla (uninhabited island).

Tagatumūra - Satawan.
Taga limetārua - Lamotrek.
Tagal'Īpu - Elato.
Metremeiat - 1 shark, with 1 man-o'-war bird over him, saumātol.
Wolwol li Iaũru - Olimarao.
Metremeital - 4 whales, nāgmetau.
TubwulĪpu - Vasulos (reef).
Tubwulimetārua (? designation undertain) - Ifalik
Tubwulitumūra - Faraulep.
Tubwulielieli - 1 shark with 2 small fish 'under his arm' - shemeijo.
Tubwulimailap - Fais.
Tubwul'ūl - 1 large fish with black head and white tail, tagural.[239]
Tubwulimēl - Vasielus (reef).
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'- war bird, gapilē.
Wolwol li Ievang - Guam

J. From Lamotrek.

Tagaliwileugo - 10 small fish, linked together like a chain - fātaleimware.
TagaliugilĪk - Pigello (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)

Tagalimēl - Uraiseivetāl (small reef).
Tagal 'ūlu - Pigennot (small uninhabited island, many turtles - Pikelot?)
Tagalipquievang - 20 big porpoises; very bad, will try to crush canoe.
Tagalimailap - Puluwat.
Tagalielieli - Satawan.
Tagal'Īpu - many birds, tepāl, with strong odor.
Mẹtrẹmeiat - 1 whale, uauumaiaūru.
Wolwol li Iaūru - 2 pagennai birds, called in captain's language lairomwara.
Tubwulipauiaūru - Ifalik
Tubwulimailap - Olimarao.
TubwuliugIlĪk - Faiau.
Tubwuliwileugo - Faurëp (reef).
Tubwulimailapliievang - RütIk (reef).

K. From Olimarao. (Two versions were given of this. Intended to supplement each other, they disagreed at some points, as noted.)

Tagaliwileugo - many porpoises, called in captain's language naigām.

TagaliugIlĪk - black mwili birds, called in captain's language pongenor.
Tagalimel - Tipapa.
Tagalimegarigari - (other version - many mweli birds, called pongulŏr.) [240]
Tagal'ūlu - Pigella (uninhabited island).
Tagali pauievang - (other version - Pigella).
Tagalimailap - Pigënnot.
Tagalielieli - Lamotrek.
Tagatumūra - Elato.
Tagalīpu - 2 paugennai birds, called aurovālu.
Wolwol li Ievang - 1 common shark and 2 very small white sharks called laorumetau.
Metremeital - MIsailealu (reef).
Tubwul'Ipu - Ororang (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Wëraitogelimware (reef).
Tubwulisarabwol - Ifalik (? one version dubious, as Aurupik is south of Ifalik.)
Tubwulielieli - Aurupik.
Tubwulipauiauru - Ifalik (? one version).

Tubwulimailap - Woleai; Vasulos, one version; other has next star south for Vasulos.

Tubwulipauievang - Gautā, (reef).

Tubwul'ūlu - many porpoises, called in one version Falepeipeilalai; in the other Misailiealu, which the other uses for a reef under Metremeital.

Tubwulimwarigari - 40 fish, arōng.

Tubwulimel - SImweli̍ulibwugu (reef); farther on, Faraulep.

Tubwuliwileugo - many small porpoises, uouwelinIran

Tubwulimailipelivang - OratIk (reef), one version; other has Galuā, apparently a little farther sw, under a star for which no name is listed.

Wo̍lwo̍l li Ievang - Farāp (reef), 1 version; other has Rajeivetāl, and, farther on, Faiau.

L. From Satawal (Satawal-aito).

(This list as given contained only directions toward the east. Two for the nearer islands to the west, however, were given 'in reverse' with the list for those islands - Lamotrek and Faiau - and are added here.)

Tagatumūra - Orejeivetan (reef). [241]

1: Burrows--235-243 (1947-48) Woleaians-10
116, 487, 502 Ifalik

Tagasarabwol - Souk (Pulusuk?).
Tagalielieli - Oroural (reef).
Tagal'ūlu - Truatalevalerɪk (reef); farther on, under same star, Truataligapelalei (reef); still farther, under same star, Puluwat.
Tagal'ugɪlɪ̄k - Pĕnĕnnot (Pikelot? Recorded elsewhere as Pigĕnnot). From Pĕgĕnnot, the star Tagalielieli will lead to the reef Autaxileor, thence to the reef Autailemetau, and thence to Bwĕnnap. From Pegĕnnot, Tagatumūra will lead to Puluwat. From Bwĕnnap, Tubwulɪpu will lead to Puluwat.

M. From Yap.

Tagaliwileugo - Gaverot, island; 'steamer and canoe come close, go down in water.' (The name is virtually the same as Gaferut, which is about n. n. e. (?) from Ifalik, but about e by s from Yap.
Tagalimegarigāri - Ulithi.
Tagalielieli - Sorol.
Tagal'ɪpu - Tongelap (reef).
Wolwolliiaūru - Ngolu (Ngulu)

Tubwul'Īpu - Gologol (reef).
Tubwulitumūra - Palau.
Tubwulisarabwol - Olāt (long reef).
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwulimēl - 1 shark, ugelingaj.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 fish, sōm, whose dorsal fin slants toward the head instead of toward the tail; also seaweed, lem.
Wolwol liievang - 1 whale, walimIl, with many white birds perching on it,

N. From Truk.

Tagaliwileugo - 1 big man-o'-war bird, arIgemoa.
Tagalimēl - Pīsh (inhabited island).
Tagal'ūlu - Tennōmar (sandy island, with low trees and many fish).
[242]
Tagalimailap - Falepei (Ponape).
Tagalipauiaūru - Losap.
Tagalielieli - Leme.
Tagatumūra - Gotū.
Tagalimetārua - Satawal-airek (called Satawan on our charts; the suffix distinguishes it from Satawal-aito farther

west, near Lamotrek, which is called Satawal on our charts.

TagalĪpu - Namoluk ('Mortlock', Tom explained).
Wolwolliievang - Pelap ('much surf')
Metremeital - 1 whale, called uauemaiauru.
Tubwul'Īpu - Pijemware.
Tubwulimetārua - 1 fish, lāgvIt.
Tubwulitumūra - 1 big shark, Oleleimwal, will crush a canoe.
Tubwulielieli - Souk. (Pulusuk?).
Tubwulimailap - Puluwat.
Tubwul'ūlu - Tamtam.
Tubwulimel - Bwennap
Tubwuliwileugo - Oloulo ('atoll, white men live there').
Tubwulimailap elivang - Faiau-aiat (East Fayu?).
Wolwol li Ievang - Namoin (Nomwin?).

O. From Guam.

Tagaliwileugo - Pāgang (Pagan?).
Tagalimel - Songorol ('no more people').
Tagal'ūlu - Tipipi.
Tagalipauievang - Tipapa.

Tagalielieli - Saipan.*
Tagalis̩arabwol - Nuta (Rota?).*
Tagatumura - Trilial (Tinian?).*
Tagal'Īpu - Lamotrek.
Me̩tre̩meiat - Elato. [243]
Wolwol l̩iiauru - Faiau.
Tubwul'Īpu - Faraulep, Ifaluk
Tubwutumūra - Woleai
Tubwulielieli - Yap.
Tubwulimailap - Philippines.
Tubwuwileugo - 1 white man-o'war bird, called Vālemerizu.
Tubwulimailapelivang - Europe. "

"* These were given by points of the compass instead of stars. It seems likely that Tom said 'south' in these cases when he meant 'north'."

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